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MILLENARIANISM IN THE WORKS OF JOHN BUNYAN

by

AILEEN MACLEOD SINTON

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE
DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

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THIS THESIS IS DEDICATED TO
THE MEMORY OF MY GRANDMOTHER
ISABELLA BISSETT

ABSTRACT

In Millennium and Utopia Ernest Lee Tuveson postulates that the coalescence in the seventeenth century of a revived millenarianism with the new philosophical view of history and the scientific revolution produced "the faith in the secular millennialism that we know as progress"--the distinguishing characteristic of western civilisation in recent times. Historians are seeing the pervasive millennial thought in England as increasingly significant, especially in the years after 1660. Millenarianism in the latter part of the century had previously been regarded as the province of "cranks" and "crackpots".

This examination of the works of John Bunyan shows that during his twelve year imprisonment the Bedford preacher developed a strong millenarian stance of his own. No evidence of millenarianism is apparent in his earlier works, but in The Holy City (1665) Bunyan foresees a progressive, peaceful spiritual enlightenment of the world through the work of the Holy Spirit, and the age of gold, the prophesied "thousand years" of peace and harmony, will ensue before Christ's actual return to judgment. Bunyan's vision is in marked contrast to many of his Fifth Monarchist contemporaries who were interested in politics, and who sometimes looked for a violent overthrow of the present world order and envisaged a personal reign by Christ assisted by the saints.

From 1665-1680 Bunyan did a great deal of preaching and

writing, as he promulgated the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith in Christ. He embarked on prose fiction--the First Part of The Pilgrim's Progress (1678) and Mr. Badman (1680)--to further his aim of persuading his readers to "close with Christ" and lead holy lives. None of this writing shows much sign of being derived from his millenarianism. But in the dark decade of the eighties, the nation in turmoil and nonconformists under even more severe persecution than hitherto, Bunyan seems to have renewed his interest in the subject (indeed, if he ever lost it) and wrote a number of millenarian treatises some of which were not published until after his death in 1688. In this thesis I demonstrate how Bunyan's revived interest in millenarianism radically affected his two remaining works of prose fiction, The Holy War (1682) and the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress. Recognition of the author's particular brand of millenarianism will be seen to be helpful in clearing up some of the critical problems associated with these works.

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While this thesis has been in progress, Oxford University Press has issued some volumes of the definitive edition of The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan, general editor, Roger Sharrock. Where possible, use has been made of these, and the abbreviation "MW" followed by the volume and page number is given after the quotation or reference. Otherwise, The Works of John Bunyan, ed. George Offor, (3 volumes, London, 1861) has been used for the miscellaneous works and is abbreviated by volume and page number in the body of the text.

Chapter 1
The New Jerusalem: A Brief Survey of Millenarianism

The impact of Bunyan's millenarianism can neither be properly understood nor assessed without a grasp of what this now somewhat esoteric idea entails. In its long history it has undergone many and varied metamorphoses that accommodate with ease either Rudolph Steiner's anthroposophical or Carl Jung's archetypal adaptations, both comparatively recent, before emerging in the late twentieth century primarily as a sociological notion which can be, and indeed is, used to account for phenomena like Melanesian cargo cults or the Ras Tafari movement in Jamaica. In Millennial Dreams in Action (1970) Sylvia Thrupp defines millenarianism as a "term [that] may be applied figuratively to any conception of a perfect age to come, or of a perfect land to be made accessible",[1] and obviously under such an aegis even movements like the Jewish exodus from Egypt become millenarian. Useful, therefore, though the definition may be, it is too broad to deal adequately with the millennial thought of Bunyan and his contemporaries. For them the New Jerusalem is the sole "perfect land to be made accessible", and "the perfect age to come" can mean only the inevitable climax of history "when the church of Christ hath obtained a complete conquest and victory over the world, and hath got her enemies and them that hate her,to lie at her feet, and to lick the dust of the soles thereof".[2] Here Bunyan's pugnacious figurative language, out of context, is in danger of giving rise to misconception, for there can be no doubt that in his estimate the glory of the church "is spiritual and heavenly, and she is satisfied with what is her own" (III,410). In the introduction to The Pursuit of the Millennium Norman Cohn comes nearer an acceptable definition of millenarianism in the following list of ways in which millenarian sects or movements view their salvation:

> (a) collective, in the sense that it is to be enjoyed by the faithful as a collectivity;
> (b) terrestrial, in the sense that it is to be realised on this earth and not in some some other-worldly heaven;
> (c) imminent, in the sense that it is to come both soon and suddenly;
> (d) total, in the sense that it is to utterly transform life on earth, so that the new dispensation will be no mere improvement but perfection itself;
> (e) miraculous, in the sense that it is to be accomplished by, or with the help of, supernatural agencies.3

This does go a long way towards describing seventeenth-century millenarianism, including Bunyan's, and it is satisfactory for the purpose of this thesis if the most vital fact of all is added--salvation for seventeenth-century English millenaries is specifically Christian and Protestant. The supernatural agency which is to accomplish the longed-for miracle is Christ himself: his second coming to rule the earth is the culmination of the church age. The resultant triumph of the true church over the false, Protestantism over Roman Catholicism, good over evil, Christ over Antichrist, Jerusalem over Babylon, when, in Bunyan's words, the forces of evil, will "lie at her [Jerusalem's] feet and lick the dust of the soles thereof," betokens the victory of the saints as the millennial age is ushered in. For purists like the seventeenth-century Fifth Monarchists this signifies the actual personal earthly reign of Christ, aided by his saints, for a period of a thousand years. John James, who was executed in 1661 for disseminating his Fifth Monarchy opinions affirmed on the gallows that the millennium "cannot be a spiritual kingdom"[4] --and as a Fifth Monarchy Man he was not averse to the use of force by the saints themselves in establishing such a kingdom: "Jesus Christ must come by this Kingdom, and that is, He shall use his People in his hand as his Battle-ax and Weapon of War for the bringing in the Kingdoms of this World to subjection to him."[5] Bunyan, believing the millennium to be a future period in which the church will gradually and peacefully be restored to her primitive purity, and that, thus purified, "the New Jerusalem shall retain and hold her outward New Testament worship till HE comes in person the second time" (III,440) clearly does not share the views of the Fifth Monarchy Men.

In discussing John Bunyan's particular brand of millenarianism and its effect on his work, I have followed standard practice in using the words "millenarian" and "millennial" for the most part interchangeably in referring to a future reign of Christ, whether in person or not, on earth. However, because the derivations are slightly different there is the occasional instance where one term is proper and the other not; "millennial" comes from the Latin "mille" one thousand in conjunction with "annus" year, while "millenarian" spelt with one one "n" derives from "mille" alone. Thus it comes about that Christ's kingdom lasting a thousand years is said to be "millennial" rather than "millenarian". A third word, "chiliasm", deriving from Greek, not Latin, also refers to the doctrine of the millennium, and will be used here in the generally accepted way to designate a more material expectation of Christ's earthly reign--such as that held by the Fifth Monarchists. Bunyan himself, having an essentially spiritual view of the millennium, cannot be reasonably called a "chiliast". The distinction between "premillennial" and "postmillennial" is commonly taken to be that the former refers to Christ's coming at the beginning of the thousand years' reign, and the latter postulates the millennium will take place first: Bunyan is a postmillennialist, while the Fifth Monarchists, in the main, are premillennialists.[6]

Most seventeenth-century millenaries, of course, can broadly be classed as Fifth Monarchists, and, indeed, often describe themselves as such. They all do subscribe to a particular view of world history rooted in the Old Testament book of Daniel that postulates the rise and fall of four world-empires, the Babylonian, Assyrian, Greek and Roman (the last mentioned, for most millenaries, also encompassing the Holy Roman Empire and the Papacy) which are to be followed by the setting up of an everlasting fifth kingdom where righteousness and justice will prevail. The plotting of some Fifth Monarchists in 1657 and their violent uprising in 1661 naturally led to reservations in the wide use of the term, and Richard Baxter, the noted Puritan preacher, wrote in 1671 "in this Age custom hath taught men to distinguish between Fifth-Monarchy-men, and meer Millenaries."[7] The title "Fifth Monarchy Men" will be used here to designate those who either participated in violent activities or condoned them, while "Fifth Monarchists" will be reserved for those who belonged to the political and religious group known by that name, but who eschewed the use of force to achieve their ends. Others holding millenarian opinions, whether they called themselves Fifth Monarchists or not, will not be described here as such. They, along with Bunyan and Baxter, will be "meer Millenaries".

The long held belief that it will be the Messiah who will fulfil Daniel's prophecy and reign on earth for a period of time stems from figures and images in Jewish-Christian apocalyptic writing, and for Christians Daniel's writings are augmented by further information gleaned from the New Testament, particularly Revelation. Bunyan's own interpretation of Revelation leans heavily on the prophecies of Ezekiel, as well as those of Daniel. The actual figure of one thousand occurs only in Revelation 20.1-6, where it is said that Satan will be bound for one thousand years, during which time the resurrected martyrs will live and reign with Christ. The precedent of setting an exact figure is found in the Jewish apocalypse, II Edras 7.28, "My son the Messiah shall appear with his companions and bring four hundred years of happiness to all who survive." Orthodox Christianity has always given assent to the doctrine of the second coming of Christ to judge "the quick and the dead": and the Lord's prayer includes the petition "Thy Kingdom come". But it is perfectly possible to subscribe to such doctrine without in the least believing in a millennium. Christ's return is further substantiated by the eschatological Olivet discourse, known as the "little apocalypse", found in Matthew 24-25, Luke 21 and Mark 13, in which Christ himself foretells a period of great tribulation followed by "the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory"--a promise renewed to the disciples after his ascension, "This same Jesus, who is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen him go into heaven " (Acts 1.11). That the first generation of Christians expected Christ's imminent return is amply borne out by the New Testament epistles in I Thess. 4.14-17, Phil. 3.20-21, I Peter 4.7 and II Peter 3, yet both the apostle Paul and the writer of I and II Peter are careful to reiterate Christ's own warning against setting times and dates, because "of that day and hour knoweth no man, not not the angels of heaven, but my Father only" (Matt. 24.36): solemn words too often ignored both then and subsequently. In his honest effort to heed Christ's stern words, Bunyan does refrain from setting definite times and dates, although, like his apostolic forebears, he cannot altogether stop himself from indulging in occasional mild speculation, as will be seen below. Nevertheless, he castigates "the forwardness of some in this matter" whom he sees as aiding the Antichrist and bringing shame on the church with their unfulfilled "predictions, prophecies, expectations and hopes" (II,58-59). And Bunyan accepts that there will be a millennial period where the church will flourish greatly throughout the world, unhindered in her preaching of the gospel and made beautiful by her holiness, before the return of her Lord Jesus Christ to judgment.

In The Sense of an Ending, Frank Kermode comments that one of the striking features of millenarianism is its ability to adapt to a new date when the expected manifestation fails to occur: his observation, "Apocalypse can be disconfirmed without being discredited"[8] is proved by every study on the subject, and even a cursory glance at seventeenth-century history. This being the case, it is hardly surprising that millenarianism is dismissed by most people today as being at best naive, and at worst the ravings of cranks and crackpots. Even so, the Western world's preoccupation with the secular millenarianism known as "Progress", based on the triumph of scientific materialism, cannot altogether crush this most resilient of roots. The astonishing success of a book like Hal Lindsey's The Late Great Planet Earth (1970) is proof that religious millenarianism is alive and well in the last quarter of the twentieth century. In his study of Christian fundamentalism, James Barr draws attention to the fact that Lindsey's ideas are "in essence little different from traditional premillennial dispensationalism".[9] He claims that, contrary to what might be expected in this scientific age, many who subscribe to the doctrine, far from being "cranks" in fringe sects, (although there are plenty of those) are intelligent believers who prefer to be called "conservative evangelicals" rather than "fundamentalists", and who are, for the most part, to be found, surprisingly, within the mainline denominations.[10] Professor Barr goes on to argue convincingly that however socially progressive and even revolutionary seventeenth-century millenarianism may have been, (and most historians would grant that) the present day genus is antithetical to any idea of progress, "in millenarianism...the idea of progress becomes totally hateful and abominable, for it contradicts the view that everything will and must either stay the same, or else get a good deal worse, until God intervenes to alter the dispensation."[11] However, as Barr notes, twentieth-century millenaries are far from being alone in their criticism of "Progress". Our dominant Western ideology has come under increasingly heavy fire from many quarters, not least in literature. Among others, Conrad voices his doubts, most poignantly perhaps in Heart of Darkness (1899), doubts that are further explored and enlarged in works like Eliot's The Waste Land (1922), and perhaps given their most penetrating expression in Samuel Beckett's The Unnamable (1958), a novel questioning not only the dogma of humankind's steady and inevitable ascent, but also the deeper philosophical underpinnings of Western civilisation. All this is a far cry from the enthusiastic embracing of the doctrine by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Today's millenarian adherents have been undoubtedly affected by twentieth century ennui, seeing only the humanist and scientific roots of "Progress" while ignoring the substantial and long-standing contribution that the hope of a millennium, particularly the kind of hope that Bunyan pursued, made to the dream of a better life for all humanity.

It lies outside the scope of this thesis to explore the implications of Professor Barr's contention that present day millenarianism is anti-progressive or "a reactionary doctrine": his observations serve here to underscore how fraught with peril it would be to judge Bunyan's seventeenth-century view of it in the light of twentieth century perceptions. It might be well to emphasize, too, at this point that it is also of utmost importance to bear in mind that Bunyan's Protestant theology proves capable at all times of subordinating his millennial beliefs to the central tenets of Christianity: from first to last the nonconformist preacher's eyes are riveted on the core of the faith, the nature and work of Christ. In one of his many expositions of the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith, Justification by Imputed Righteousness; or No Way to Heaven but by Jesus Christ" (posthum. 1692), he warns his readers, "never call that the Spirit of Jesus which leads you away from the blood and righteousness of Christ; that is but the spirit of delusion and the devil, whose teachings end in perdition and destruction " (I,329). Bunyan's own life and work epitomise this deeply held belief, which keeps his millenarianism in check--not for him the rampant excesses of the Fifth Monarchy Men. Bunyan's set of millennial beliefs may be considered all the more remarkable because he, too, works within the usual seventeenth-century biblical exegesis that differentiates little between various parts of the Old and New Testaments. Revelation's late inclusion in the biblical canon would cut little ice with one who accepted, as he did, the Bible as the word of God. But it is noteworthy, as Professor Barr and others point out, that seventeenth-century English Protestants, Bunyan included, did not share the same view of the inerrancy of the Bible as present day fundamentalists.[12] The certainty that more light and truth breaks from the Bible, fresh in each successive age, made the pursuit of new interpretations of the book of Revelation both possible and profitable for serious scholars. It is, therefore, legitimate to ask if, and how much, this kind of scriptural exposition contributed to the rise and development of the millenarianism which which became such a force in Europe generally and in English society in particular, although this is a task not undertaken here. However, an attempt will be made to explain how it affected Bunyan's view of history that seems to derive directly from his millennial beliefs. Bunyan would maintain the apocalyptic books of Daniel and Revelation to be of equal importance to any other part of the Bible, but, in practice, his constancy in proclaiming salvation by grace alone inevitably relegates these prophecies to a peripheral, although not insignificant, place in his thought: and his usual method of explicating Old Testament texts by means of typology assists considerably in this. Even so, as he expounds his millenarian beliefs, prophecies can be plainly seen to be in the process of historical fulfilment as preachers faithfully proclaim the good news. He writes in Of Antichrist and His Ruin (posthum. 1692):

> ...do but look back and compare Antichrist four or five hundred years ago, with Antichrist as he is now, and you shall see what work the Lord Jesus has begun to make with him...he hath also already began to take from him both kingdoms and countries, though as to some not so absolutely as he shall do by and by. (II,48)

The chiliast whether past or present tends to reject such a "Fabian" progress towards a utopian state of society and, anticipating a cataclysmic divine intervention that will destroy the present evil world order and replace it with the millennial kingdom, justifies his position by pointing to the orthodoxy of such a belief in the primitive church.

Here he is on relatively firm ground, for as Bernard McGinn puts it, "Christianity was born apocalyptic and has remained so, not in the sense that apocalyptic hopes exhaust the meaning of Christian belief, but because they have never been absent from it."[13] McGinn, however, deliberately abjures the use of the words "millenarian" or "chiliastic" since he avers their present sociological implications make them less useful than "apocalyptic" which encompasses "eschatological" along with "revelation". But however much this all-embracing term may be useful for the study of mediaeval history, the distinction between millenarianism and apocalypticism must be maintained for any study of the seventeenth century. In order to understand Bunyan's millennial ideas, it is vital to differentiate between his frequent use of apocalyptic language to describe his eschatological stance (which is a traditional one) and his millenarianism (which is in some ways peculiar to himself). "Apocalypticism" itself, of course, is a difficult term to define. McGinn attempts it by saying that although "the content of apocalyptic eschatologies...expresses a pattern of beliefs about time and eternity that are too complex to be reduced to any single essential notion," nevertheless, the "scenario of the events of the End has as its most basic structure a threefold pattern of crisis, judgment and salvation...."[14] For Bunyan and other Christian writers of the seventeenth century this would probably be an acceptable definition. The threefold pattern is the familiar one Christianity inherited from Judaism. The major apocalypses date from 200 B.C.-100A.D., although there are scholars who would date some Jewish apocalyptic writing from 600 B.C.,[15] and they all depict relief from present suffering by envisaging a future golden age in which mankind will enjoy an era of peace and plenty. New Testament apocalyptic writing develops the doctrine of the Parousia, which did not become less orthodox when the Second Advent did not take place as expected. Evidence of the continuing Christian apocalyptic tradition is found in the patristic writings from the second century onwards, and it includes the usual speculations as to the identity of the Antichrist, the length of time the present world order can be expected to endure, the time and place of future catastrophes, and, most important of all for those who looked also for a millennium, when the appearance of the Holy City could be anticipated.

The Montanists, for instance, were an early millenarian sect that looked for the descent of the heavenly city at Pepuza near Mount Didymus in Phrygia, the ancient centre of Cybele worship, about 170 A.D. Disappointed, they came to believe that it would manifest itself elsewhere, Rome and Carthage being the most popular choices. The influential theologian Tertullian (c.160-230 A.D.), who in his writings ably defended Christianity against both Jews and pagans, was the most notable convert to the Montanist view. Earlier, near the beginning of the second century, Papias, bishop of Hieropolis, had expected the thousand year kingdom of Revelation in his lifetime and, according to Eusebius in his Ecclesiastical History (c.303 A.D.), the famous bishop's expectation was based not only on the apocalypse of John, but on an oral tradition going back to Christ himself. But perhaps the most eminent of the second century Church Fathers was Irenaeus, pupil of the martyred Polycarp, and bishop of Lyons from 178-200 A.D. In Book V of his wellknown work, usually referred to as Against Heresies, Irenaeus went into a great deal of detail about the coming millennium, detail that was so effectively suppressed by the Church after Augustine it only came to light in 1575.[16] Irenaeus was the first to knit together the two strands of patristic millenarianism, the Asian materialist hope of a terrestrial paradise like that foretold by Montanus, with the more spiritual outlook developed in Syria that had affinities with Essene doctrines.[17] But although his depiction of an earthly paradise is used by Irenaeus simply as a means of preparing Christians for the higher bliss of the spiritual one, it is, as Ernest Lee Tuveson says, "fundamentally a material concept of the New Jerusalem", and this despite "some idea of progressive spiritual advance."[18] Irenaeus's idyllic portrayal has much in common with later ones, including those of the seventeenth century.[19] As he rhapsodizes about the joys of the future kingdom his words could almost have been penned by Bunyan himself:

> The days will come, in which the vines shall grow, each having ten thousand branches, and in each branch ten thousand twigs, and in each true twig ten thousand shoots, and in each one of the shoots ten thousand clusters, and on every one of the clusters ten thousand grapes, and every grape when pressed will give five and twenty metretes of wine. And when any one of the saints shall lay hold of a cluster, another shall cry out, "I am a better cluster, take me; bless the Lord through me"[20]

It is true Bunyan, like Irenaeus, lays his main emphasis on the "holiness, goodness and truth" that will prevail in the millennium, putting "wickedness to shame" and making the world "golden", but in The Holy City (1665), despite his remonstrances to those who anticipate merely material blessings, his descriptions have definite materialist reverberations: "It will be then always summer, always sunshine, always pleasant, green, fruitful, and beautiful to the sons of God " (III,459). Bunyan's words typify the longing that appears in almost all millennial writings--that the "good" earth and the animal kingdom which were cursed because of man's sin will share in the millennial restoration; the law of the jungle superseded, "The wolf and the lamb shall feed together, and the lion shall eat straw like the bullock: and dust shall be the serpent's meat. They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountain, saith the Lord " (Is. 65.25).

It has been customary in the past to cite the inclusion of a well-organized Christian church into the Roman Empire after Constantine's edict of toleration for all religions in 313 A.D. as having driven millenarianism underground, where it persisted in "the obscure underworld of popular religion".[21] Recent studies into past and present millenarian movements, however, indicate it is far from being that simple a phenomenon, and, contrary to what has been supposed, does not appear in response to persecution and disappear when the persecution abates.[22] In the first place there were always those who challenged the validity of millenarian beliefs even while the church was an illicit organization in the Roman Empire. In the third century, Origen (c.185-284A.D.) whose brilliant mind helped formulate the doctrine of the Trinity and synthesize Neoplatonism with Christianity, used an allegorical interpretation of the Bible to discredit a material millennium, asserting that the kingdom was not to be understood as a literal entity but as spiritual happenings within the souls of believers. What Origen had already begun, Augustine (354-430 A.D.) completed. In the early part of the fifth century he allegorized Revelation, claiming that the millennium had been brought into being by the birth and establishment of the church. And, despite the growth of a view that postulated a future millennium, this remained a popular view in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The continental reformer, Heinrich Bullinger, wrote a hundred sermons on Revelation, which, as Katharine Firth observes, "became one of the standard commentaries on England", and he dated the millennium from the time of the apostles.[23] Arthur Dent, whose Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven (1601) so influenced Bunyan, wrote another book The Ruine of Rome in 1603 and he also dated the figurative binding of Satan from the time of the early church. And it might be reasonable to assume that this kind of thinking was responsible for much of the idealism that surrounded the Protestant idea of an almost perfect primitive church. Augustine's views had been, not unnaturally, much influenced by the sack of Rome in 410 A.D., after which he sought to divorce external history from the internal progress of the City of God. McGinn says, "The bishop of Hippo shied away from any reading of canonical apocalyptic texts that would attempt to find in them a source of information about current events."[24] Under the circumstances Augustine's change of heart is comprehensible, for he had earlier accepted Eusebius's views which assumed the destinies of Rome and the church to be inseparable.

Scholars like McGinn, Reeves and Cohn concur in seeing the later Augustine, despite his periodization of history, as a non or anti-millennialist, but Robert Nisbet in his recent _History of the Idea of Progress_ does not agree that this is as clear as they would have it. He admits that in _The City of God_ Augustine disassociates himself from those who go "by the name of Millenarians", but points out that Augustine's objection to them is that they are preoccupied with "immoderate carnal banquets" in their thinking about the millennium.[25] This is a charge that was to be levelled in the future at many millenarians, in some cases justifiably, and as has been said above, Bunyan himself cautioned against such views. Nisbet draws attention to section XXX in Book V of _The City of God_ where Augustine sets out the order of the last things, including the conversion of the Jews, the assumption of kingly powers by Antichrist, Christ's second coming and judgement which will separate good and evil before consigning the present creation to the flames of destruction and the renewal of the world. Contradictory passages notwithstanding, Nisbet holds that there are grounds for belief that "Augustine foresaw a progressive, fulfilling, and blissful period ahead, on earth for humanity--prior to the entry of the blessed into heaven."[26] Bunyan might have been startled to learn his millennial ideas had so much in common with the most learned of the Church Fathers; if Nisbet is correct, Bunyan's millenarian views can be traced back through the Reformers to Augustine.

Bunyan's peaceful, progressive millenarianism certainly has little in common with the medieval millenarian uprisings of Europe's deprived masses, or the mystical ascetism of the religious order known as the Brethren of the Free Spirit--both movements subversive to state and church alike. Norman Cohn's seminal work The Pursuit of the Millennium provides valuable insights into these anarchic situations deriving from Johannine and Sibylline prophecies. However, as Bernard McGinn so rightly points out in Visions of the End, millenarian movements are not necessarily subversive to an existing societal, religious or political order. Instead they may actually serve to bolster them.[27] After Constantine, it certainly became easy to identify the enemies of the Empire as the enemies of Christ, so intertwined were church and state: Augustine's City of God had taken cognizance of this and served to counteract it to some extent. But the meteoric rise of Islam and the conquest of the Holy Land produced new twists of apocalyptic thought and the inevitable association of Antichrist and his cohorts with the Moslems (an identification still prevalent in the seventeenth century as Turkish incursions into Europe persisted). On this basis it proved possible to rally support for the Roman Empire, just as it was to prove possible in the seventeenth century for both royalists and parliamentarians to encourage their soldiers to look on themselves as the Lord's army in the battle against the forces of the Antichrist. It is worth noting in passing that in neither Daniel nor Revelation, despite all the terrifying war imagery, is there any incitement towards taking up arms against Antichrist by the saints themselves:[28] Bunyan's own reading of the prophecies wholly endorses this position. Active participation by the saints in the establishing of the millennial kingdom must be credited rather to apocalyptic expectations being augmented by Christian versions of the classical Sibylline prophecies, which "save for the Bible and works of the Fathers...were probably the most influential writings known to medieval Europe".[29] The oldest of these, the Tiburtina (c.350 A.D.), was also responsible for initiating the myth of the Last Emperor, a mystical, Christ-like figure who was destined to reign in the time of the End and defeat all the enemies of the Church before inaugurating the golden age that would precede the final maddened onslaught of Antichrist and the Last Judgment. Candidates for this role ranged from Constantine's son, Constans, emperor of the West, to Charlesmagne (742-814), Frederick Barbarossa (c.1123-1190) and Frederick II (1194-1250), and similar hopes centred on European monarchs of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[30] In Of Antichrist and His Ruin" Bunyan, too, tends to see some of the Protestant Tudor monarchs fulfilling this role, and lauds them for their parts in defeating the enemies of the true church, who, in his eyes, were to be found, above all, in the Roman Catholic Church:

> ...the noble King, king Henry VIII did cast
> down the Antichristian worship; so he cast

> down the laws that held it up: so also did the good king Edward his son. The brave queen, queen Elizabeth also, the sister to king Edward, hath left of things of this nature, to her lasting fame behind her. (II, 50)

Occasionally, the same figure could be cast in two opposing roles, as was Frederick II (1194-1250) the Holy Roman Emperor who became the focus of much myth and prophecy. Joachim of Fiore (1143-1202), the Calabrian abbot and hermit, was confessor to Frederick's mother, and he was responsible for getting the myths off to a good start by stating that Queen Constance must have unwittingly coupled with a demon, since her son was born when she was forty years old--an unprecedented event in an age when women seldom lived beyond thirty-five.[31] Joachim's prophecies about the golden age to come, however, garnered fame for himself as well as Frederick. As a mystic he was revered for his holy life, and this may partially account for the fact he did not forfeit the respect of popes and fellow clergy even when his strange predictions ran counter to the tenor of his times. His study of the Bible led him to foretell that the human race's destined course lay upwards. He claimed that it was revealed to him that there were three dispensations for the world, comparable to the Trinity. The age of the Father paralleled the world governed by fear of the law until the birth of Christ; that of the Son was equated with the growth of the Church and spread of the faith which was now nearing an end. Joachim had calculated that the age of the Son was to last for forty-two generations, and on the basis of 30 years to a generation the age of the Spirit would arrive in 1260. Humanity then would be freed from carnal lusts and commune with God through prayer and meditation, experiencing the glorious liberty of being the sons and daughters of God until the day of Judgment. Born a century earlier Joachim would have found his earthly liberty severely curtailed, but his revelations in the twelfth century were greeted with interest by the Popes; only his novel prediction that the Antichrist would actually occupy the papal throne for three and a half years immediately prior to the new age was found to be somewhat disconcerting.[32]

However, the pseudo Joachimite prophecies that circulated after the abbot's death were not so favourably received. The Fransciscan Spirituals who were largely responsible for them were highly critical of the carnality of the clergy, and they depicted themselves as the new order waiting in the wings, ready to replace the organized church as the age of the Spirit dawned, and, understandably, they were condemned as heretics. But their heretical beliefs were lacking in unanimity. Frederick II, many of whose deeds matched Joachim's forebodings about his conception, nevertheless, was popularly acclaimed as the Emperor of the Last Days, and was greeted by the German Spirituals as such; whereas the Italian Spirituals read into his continuous conflict with successive Popes a contrary role, portraying him as the Beast of Revelation in league with the Antichrist permitted to chastise the evil in the church for a brief time before the new age began.[33] It is of interest to find a parallel situation in Bunyan's lifetime when both Charles I and Oliver Cromwell were cast in opposing roles depending on whether they were being viewed by their friends or adversaries. Bunyan himself, with his biblically based respect for lawfully constituted authority, never allowed himself to be provoked into seeing Charles I's successors as being in league with the Antichrist; this despite his long imprisonment and the threat of further incarceration that hung over him almost to the end of his life.

Prognostications about when the Fifth Monarchy might be expected to begin abounded in seventeenth-century England, but the most popular guesses, 1660 and 1666, passed as any others. Joachim's date of 1260 had gone by in much the same way and some millenarians reacted like the Italian chronicler, Salimbene, who affirmed sadly that he could no longer be a Joachist and would henceforth "believe in nothing that [he could] not see."[34] Others persisted and kept millenarian expectations alive by playing infinite variations on the basic theme. As was to happen in seventeenth-century England, the best known were usually the most notorious--the Taborites being a case in point. This sect sprang up after Hus's martyrdom in Prague in 1415, and so were distant offshoots of Wyclif and the English Lollards whom English Protestants, including Bunyan, saw as the first Reformers. The Taborites proclaimed the exact time of Christ's return would be in February, 1420. So zealous were they to obtain converts that they burnt anyone they could lay hands on who declined to agree with them; predictably, the imperial forces that hunted them down in the Bohemian hills were equally brutal in their retaliation. The following century saw the Reformation, and Thomas Munzer rousing the German peasantry with his impassioned preaching of an imminent millennium. His followers, mesmerized by his boast of being impervious to bullets, were easy prey for the princes' armies and also perished wretchedly.[35] The Fifth Monarchy Men of Bunyan's day inherited some of this bizarre confidence in their bodily invulnerability which was perhaps partly responsible for such a small, badly organized body of men being able to hold much larger forces as bay in the rising of 1661. But the episode that more than any other tended to discredit millenarianism in England was the terrifying takeover of Munster in 1534. A baker, Jan Matthys, assisted by Jan van Leiden, who had once been apprenticed to a tailor, was responsible for the setting up of a "millennial" kingdom in the German town which withstood more than ten months of siege before being finally overcome by an act of treachery. The lurid tales of bloodthirsty punishments meted out for infringements of the Mosaic law governing the "New Jerusalem", hysterical meetings presided over by a gorgeously attired Jan van Leiden after Matthys's death, and the practice of polygamy were thereafter held up as dire warnings against any form of millenarianism.

All this naturally had an effect in the England of Bunyan's day, and Edward Bagshaw, like many others, was fearful of a rule by England's saints because they, "under that pretence, endeavoured to set up and establish their own." Yet he believes firmly in a supernatural Second Coming: "we are assured that Christ at his Appearance and Kingdom will destroy this present frame of things, and cause all the beauty of it to perish."[36] In an earlier treatise he warns his countrymen against the vain expectation of a literal Fifth Monarchy:

> ...let this once be granted, that our Saviour is a Temporal Prince, and that onely those have a right to Govern who have by Faith an Interest in him, presently a door is opened to all manner of Rebellion and Treason; nay, there can be no such Crimes in the World, if Religion, and a design to advance our Saviour's Kingdom, be once made the pretence to authorize them. Indeed the consequences are so fatall and horrid, and the remembrance of Munster Affairs (which were acted by the same spirit) so fresh, and recent, that it might almost seem needless to endeavor any other confutation, than a bare relating of that Story.37

Bagshaw's reckoning that almost one hundred and thirty years ago was still "recent" is illuminating, and may also explain why Foxe's account of the Marian martyrs was still so popular. Certainly Bunyan writes of them in such a familiar way that they might have sprung from the previous generation. Bagshaw's argument that "Civil government--this belongs to men not as they are Christians, but as they are men, and is a consequence, not of our spiritual, but of our naturall Birth"[38] finds an echo in Bunyan as the Bedford preacher stresses in The Holy City that "The governors of this world need not at all to fear a disturbance from her or a diminishing of ought they have " (III,410). But Munster notwithstanding, there were many saints in England who, unlike Bagshaw and Bunyan, were set on instituting a government by the godly. At the end of the Civil War, Cromwell found much support for the setting up of the Barebones Parliament of saints because it was widely regarded as a prelude to the setting up of Christ's kingdom, even by Cromwell himself. Those who so earnestly supported the Fifth Monarchy were not slow to point out that the stories of Munster and Jan van Leiden's megalomania had all derived from hostile sources; but, by and large, the German experiment remained for most Englishmen a frightening example of an anarchy to be avoided at all costs.

Munster, like the Fifth Monarchy Men's aborted rising in 1657 and actual rebellion in 1661, was one of the violent, revolutionary manifestations of millenarian belief, that Norman Cohn calls "the most absolute anarchic wing" of the movement, and he discusses these in depth in The Pursuit of the Millennium. In the foreword to the second edition of this well known work, he bows to criticism and concedes that millenarian sects may, indeed, vary "from the most violent aggressiveness to the mildest pacifism and from the ethereal spirituality to the most earthbound materialism."[39] McGinn laments the fact that many modern sociological works have taken as their base Cohn's first "cruder" edition, and remarks that their "approach is almost totally blind to those manifestations of apocalyptic traditions that were intended to SUPPORT the institutions of medieval Christianity rather than serve as a critique, either mild or violent.[40] His criticism of the current tendency to stereotype millenarian movements "as an agent of social change, a pre-political phenomenon, at times a proto-revolutionary one"[41] is, I think, a valid and important one, particularly so for Bunyan who is thought of by some as a "radical".[42] Happily, Sylvia Thrupp in her conference report in Millennial Dreams in Action shows a trend away from Cohn's original premises that will probably continue. She says: "In any culture the thinking in which a millennial dream is embedded has logic of its own that is not an automatic reflection of the social situations."[43] Bunyan's millenarianism, therefore, may be taken as having emanated from his own study of the Bible, which undoubtedly was influenced by the current climate of opinion, although he categorically denies that he is indebted in any way to others for his interpretations of Revelation. And without doubting his veracity I think that, like all seventeenth-century millenarians, he is more indebted to Foxe, the famous martyrologist, than he realises. Bunyan's interpretation is, in any case, in no way extraordinary, being merely a variant of that promulgated by a wide variety of seventeenth-century millenarians. What makes it of current interest to students of literature is the way that it influences his prose fiction, particularly The Holy War and The Pilgrim's Progress. Because the latter work has wielded such immense influence in the Western world it merits the attention of those interested in the history of ideas.

There is general agreement among scholars that seventeenth-century millenarianism wedded to the New

Philosophy of Bacon and Hakewill gave birth to the modern notion of "Progress",[44] but there is disagreement as to the extent of the earlier evolution of the idea. In the seminal work on the subject, Millennium and Utopia, Ernest Lee Tuveson outlines what he calls "one of the most fascinating events in the history of thought":

> ...the coincidence of two great ideas, apparently divergent and even antagonistic, [produced] a profound revolution in social attitudes and beliefs. The coming together of the New Philosophy and the revival of the belief in a literal millennial end to history produced the Idea of Progress...without the combination of these two great ideologies, the faith in the secular millennialism that we know as Progress could never have arisen. For that combination created the great characteristic modern belief that advance in technology, standard of living, and other purely material aspects of culture is advance religiously as spiritually as well--that man gets better and better as he controls nature more and more.45

While Tuveson concedes that there has always been the "germ of a concept of progress...implicit in the nature of the Christian religion",[46] Robert Nisbet in History of the Idea of Progress takes it much further in seeing the distinct emergence of the idea in both Greek and Jewish thought, which coalesced in early Christianity: "Nothing in the entire history of the idea of progress is more important than, indeed if as important as, the incorporation by Christianity, from earliest times, of Jewish millenarianism. For, given its universalist cast from St. Paul on, Christianity could and did widen this millenarianism to encompass the whole of mankind."[47] He does not underestimate the impetus given the idea during the seventeenth century and agrees that the resurgence of millenarianism in the 1640s "did much to broadcast to unlettered and lettered alike the chiliastic excitement of a view of history founded upon a vision of progress, past, present and future...."[48] However, Nisbet sees the impetus not so much a result of a blending of the New Philosophy with millenarianism as originating in the unique Puritan conception of progress which united for the first time in history two elements essential to "Progress":

> ...the first, introduced by the Greeks, centering on the advancement of the arts and sciences; the second, the product of Augustinian fusion of Jewish millenarianism and the Greek idea of unfolding growth into the Christian philosophy of history, which puts its emphasis upon not knowledge primarily but the spiritual state of bliss that mankind will ascend to prior to the ending of life on earth.49

McGinn's assertion that millenarian belief in the Middle Ages could be as important for social continuity as social change is of interest in itself, and is especially pertinent to Bunyan. I suggest that Bunyan's peaceable, progressive millenarianism essentially supports the status quo, as well as augmenting the progressive Puritan ideology, millennial in outlook, that was already prevalent in English thought by the time he came to write, merging, as Tuveson says, with the new Philosophy and Science to produce our modern idea of progress. Acknowledgement of the millenarianism present in Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress throws light on why, in the words of Monsignor Knox, "Christian goes on a pilgrimage, Christiana on a walking tour." In The Holy War it is

Bunyan's millennial view of history that provides the overriding structure to the work; he forecasts here that there will be progressive improvement in the church, and, by extension of the church's mission, to the world--a view the nineteenth century found especially congenial.

This brief survey, then, serves to demonstrate the impossibility of looking at seventeenth-century millenarianism either in the light of its twentieth-century counterpart or as being all of a piece. Recent historians have shown it to be an infinitely complex idea, ranging from the violence or potential for violence of the Fifth Monarchy Men to an essentially apolitical, peaceable stance like that of Bunyan, who evinces no desire to be placed in the radical camp: his Holy City "meddleth not with any man's matters but her own " (III,410). Examined in the context of seventeenth-century millenarianism his millennial thought will be found to be far from politically revolutionary, save in the general way that Christianity itself, with a heavenly allegiance taking precedence over an earthly one, cannot but ultimately affect the society it is part of.[50] John Bunyan's vision of the New Jerusalem rests on the Calvinistic premise that there will be a spread of knowledge throughout the earth: it goes without saying that this will be primarily a knowledge of God producing in its wake spiritual discernment and happiness which will inevitably be to the betterment of all, although already in Bunyan's day there was a widening of Calvin's idea to include all knowledge of the arts and sciences.[51] Bunyan's millenarianism also envisions Christian unity; it has an ecumenical spirit rare in the seventeenth century of sects and schisms, and this unity will finally embrace the Jews. Like many other millenarians he sees the conversion of the Jews as an essential prelude to the millennium; they will convert almost of their own volition when the beauty of the Holy City becomes apparent: "the Jews and Gentiles shall meet together in the spirit of the gospel, and so both become a righteous nation " (III,415). There can be little doubt that John Bunyan's work was sufficiently influential by the end of the seventeenth century to have played a significant part in propagating this vision of progress both in the New World and the Old. There can be even less doubt, however, that he would deplore the modern notion "that advance in technology, standard of living, and other purely material aspects of culture is advance religiously and spiritually as well."[52] Bunyan was a realist--he had no illusions that humanity would get "better" if more control could be exerted over nature--Bunyan saw hope of improvement only as people availed themselves of the opportunity of "closing with Christ". Even so, his millennial beliefs, disseminated in his major work of prose fiction, The Pilgrim's Progress particularly, undoubtedly played their part in the evolution of the secular idea of "Progress", with its emphasis on sanitation not sanctity.

Chapter 2

Spirit of the Age--Millenarianism in in Seventeenth-Century England

It has been observed many times that it is impossible to overestimate the importance of religion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. In his headlong flight from the City of Destruction, impervious to the pleas of family and friends, "duty" apparently thrown to the winds, Bunyan's Christian epitomises the religious fervour of this time in his single-minded pursuit of his soul's salvation. His creator, in a treatise written a little later, The Greatness of the Soul and the Unspeakableness of the Loss Thereof (1682) says, "the soul, and the salvation of it, are such great, such wonderful great things; nothing is a matter of that concern as is, and should be, the soul...house and land, trades and honours, places and preferments what are they to salvation?"(MWIX,127) Having spent so much time fearing that he himself might be reprobate, nothing later perplexed and puzzled Bunyan more than the sight of professing Christians either being taken up too much with the pursuit of worldly things or being plunged into a black despair by their loss--even grief over the death of loved ones for Bunyan was mitigated by the knowledge that suffering is permitted by God and may even be to the benefit of the soul. In his spiritual autobiography Grace Abounding (1666) his yearning for certainty about the state of his soul is poignantly recollected, "Were my Soul but in a good condition, and were I but sure of it, ah! how rich I should esteem myself, though blessed but with Bread and Water: I should count those but small afflictions, and should bear them as little burdens."[1] As to how such a salvation was to be achieved was, of course, the burning question that had torn Europe apart more than a century before Bunyan's birth after Martin Luther's promulgation of his 95 Theses in 1517. The vigorous Roman Catholic reaction to the Protestant Reformation spawned in its wake pitiless massacres, prolonged wars, dislocation of populations, with all their concomitant miseries.[2] Yet amidst the turmoil men and women still managed to find time to immerse themselves in the reading and interpretation of the Bible so recently available to them in their own tongues, and many saw signs of the end times as wars and rumours of war followed each other in grim succession.[3] It appeared that Christ's apocalyptic prophecy was being fulfilled as nation rose against nation, kingdom against kingdom, as saints were persecuted and martyred, and false prophets multiplied amidst iniquity and apostasy.

During the first twenty years of Bunyan's lifetime Europe was indeed still being ravaged by the savagery of the Thirty Years' War, which only came to an end in 1648. Few nations benefited from a protracted struggle in which religious motivations were certainly present, but which was also rooted in the social, political and economic changes of the times.[4] The end of the war saw the Austrian house of Hapsburg improve its fortunes at the expense of the Bohemians whose claim to an elective monarchy was destroyed along with the Bohemian nobility.[5] The loss of Bohemia's long established Protestantism dismayed English onlookers. They had all along voiced support for the Calvinist Elector Palatine, Frederick, whom his father-in-law, James I, had declined to help when the former was elected to the Bohemian throne in 1618. Englishmen had every sympathy with a people who had almost as long a tradition of Protestantism as their own. A lively millenarianism had been preserved by the Bohemian Brethren, so that in the early stages of the conflict it was possible to cast Frederick in the role of the "last Emperor", destined to destroy Antichrist (seen then as the Roman Catholic House of Hapsburg as well as the Papacy), prior to the ushering in of Christ's kingdom. But Frederick proved to be a "Winter King", and as his star waned, new millenarian hopes became centred on Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden and outlived his death in 1632 to receive fresh impetus when his successor, Charles X, invaded Poland in 1655. Many distinguished Europeans were caught up in this millenarian excitement, including some who wielded considerable influence in England. Comenius (1592-1670), Hartlib's protege and inspirer of Milton's educational reforms, was a ready convert to messianic expectations, opting first for George I Prince of Transylvania as Frederick's successor before pinning his hopes to Charles X, only to have these dashed too when the Swedes were ignominiously expelled from Poland a year after the conquest.[6] The English encyclopedist, Henry Alsted, writing during the Thirty Years' War, saw in the conflict the purging of the true church of Christ so that it might be made ready for the millennium, and his sentiments regarding the sufferings of the true church bear a marked similarity to those in Bunyan's treatises written after 1665:

> ...the Church is to be purged, purified, and cleansed, by this persecution, which at this day it suffers; That by this means it may be by little and little prepared for that great Reformation, which the Epocha or Account of those thousand years shall bring.7

Continental millenarianism, then, did have an effect in England, but to what degree is impossible to assess. Certainly the debacles on the continent strengthened a feeling among Englishmen, present since Elizabeth I's reign, and fostered by that most popular of books, John Foxe's Acts and Monuments (1563), that England was the elect nation whose mission it was to destroy the Roman Antichrist by force of arms.[8] This is one of the few books we know for sure that Bunyan possessed, and he refers to it often. Bunyan and the sectaries, on the whole, did not rule out the use of force by kings to prepare for the millennial rule, however much such violence was deemed unacceptable action by the saints themselves, with, of course, notable exceptions in the Fifth Monarchy Men! The Bedford preacher states in Of Antichrist and His Ruin, "the destruction of her flesh shall come by the sword, as managed in the hands of kings, who are God's ministers for the punishment of evil deeds, and the praise of them that do well" (II,72). In keeping with apostolic teaching and practice, Bunyan is always unequivocal in his support of lawfully constituted authority, and willing to suffer under its yoke when he cannot but obey the higher command of God. The potential for conflict between God and Caesar's demands has always been present in Christianity. Tertullian, that early millennialist and scholar, while forbidding Christians to become soldiers or accept public office because such positions involved taking part in emperor worship, has, paradoxically, no hesitation in advising that Christians should uphold lawful authority in their prayers. He writes in his Apology:

> Without being called upon to do this by anyone, and because we pray with all our heart, we are continually interceding for all the emperors and what we ask for them is long life, an undisturbed reign, a court which is safe, strong armies, a faithful senate, a people that is worthy, and a peaceful world, whatever they most desire both as men and emperors.9

This, too, is Bunyan's spirit: he continually urges the saints to pray for the king, and to suggest that his motivation for this was anything less than Christian is to accuse the Bedford preacher of a hypocrisy that would belie his whole life and testimony. His belief that God had specifically singled out his native land to fulfil the sacred function as scourge of Antichrist in no way conflicts with his desire to see the saints pursuing their vocations in peace. His was an idea that was shared by many of his countrymen, including Milton, who comments in 1641 on the "Precedencie which GOD gave this Iland, to be the first

Restorer of buried Truth".[10] The Puritan poet's first foray into pamphlet polemic on behalf of the Smectymnuans expresses a view of history in which the primitive true church, having fallen into gross error under Rome, is set on the path towards the Reformation by Wyclif: it had fallen to England's lot to blow the "Evangelick Trumpet to the Nations"[11] This is a theme frequently reiterated by preachers from 1642 onwards, especially on the monthly fast day sermons delivered by distinguished preachers to the Long Parliament. Interestingly enough, the Antichrist it was England's unique and mystical role to destroy now embraced the Anglican episcopacy and Charles I's support of it.[12] The English civil wars could be held to be the decisive battle in the long conflict between Zion and Babylon, after which the nation could look forward to the setting up of a kingdom pleasing to God in England's green and pleasant land. But such a high destiny necessarily entailed suffering for this new Israel of God because "if this British Northern nation bee the people chosen of God to accomplish the last wonder of the world...was it not necessary the nation itself should be purged?"[13] After the Parliamentary victory Cromwell was frequently urged, especially by the Fifth Monarchists, to complete the nation's divinely ordained task by carrying the war to the continent and, as Bunyan's friend, John Owen put it in a sermon preached before Parliament on October 24 1651, after the destruction of the Scots' army at Worcester 1651: "in that great work for the Lord Christ, which is to be accomplished in the ruine and destruction of Babel, when it must be done with might power and strength with Armies and bloud, wil not now the Lord use the high and green tree?"[14]

The defence of the Papacy at the outset of the Reformation had been undertaken by princes still faithful to the old communion, but the Counter-Reformation's Inquisition, Index and Jesuit order, along with the reforms emanating from the Council of Trent (1545-1563) proved more reliable bulwarks. The tide often seemed to be on the verge of turning, but where the reformed religion was deeply entrenched its adherents clung tenaciously to their faith, willing to endure exile or martyrdom rather than recant. The memory of the Marian martyrs remained fresh in England, and Foxe's _Acts and Monuments_ was one of the four books Elizabeth I ordered chained in each parish church. It not only served to perpetuate the recollection of their countrymen's (and women's) sacrifice, but also did much to shape late sixteenth and seventeenth century apocalyptic thinking. It had the additional advantage of being, as William Lamont says, in _Richard Baxter and the Millennium_, "the best monarchist propaganda that a Protestant Englishman had ever written"[15] : a statement which supports McGinn's contention that apocalypticism may do more to support a political establishment than undermine it and worth bearing in mind when we consider its enormous influence on John Bunyan. Foxe, strictly speaking, was not a millenarian, for he considered the millennium already past, placing it from Constantine's succession to about 1300.[16] According to

Foxe, the human race could now look forward to the second coming of Christ to judge the nations, an event he thought likely to come about in the near future. The idea of imminent judgment and the dissolution of all things also accorded extremely well with the pervading late Renaissance pessimism that reckoned Nature in a state of decay. The last stanza of George Herbert's poem "Decay" expresses a widely felt sentiment:

> I see the world grow old, when as the heat
> Of thy great love once spread, as in an urn
> Doth closet up it self, and till retreat,
> Cold sinne still forcing it, till it return,
> And calling Justice , all things burn.

Even so, the eschatological view of history Foxe bequeathed to the seventeenth century was, as Tuveson points out, not entirely black, for if the martyrologist sees and acknowledges the might of the Antichrist in Rome and Islam he is also much heartened by the spiritual re-awakening of the Reformation, "And yet notwithstanding, when both the Turke and the pope shall do against it what they can, the truth and grace of Gods testament shal fructifie and increase by such meanes as the Lord shall worke, which beginneth already (praise to the Lord) to come gratiously and luckily forward in most places.[17] Bunyan, contrary to Foxe and more in keeping with the millenarian climate of opinion prevalent after 1642, locates the millennium in the future, but he is indebted to him not only for his knowledge of the "stout and valiant champions for God" but also for the concept of the "godly prince": "Kings" says Bunyan, "...must be the men that must down with Antichrist, and they shall down with her in God's time" (II,73). More importantly, he inherits from Foxe the view of history that permeates all his writing.

Foxe was among the exiles who returned to England after Mary Tudor's death in 1558 ready with them to give a wholehearted allegiance to Elizabeth, their Protestant "Constantine", and Spenser's adulation of "Gloriana" is a testimony of the general warmth and affection felt for the new queen. But the returned exiles had been heavily influenced by the presbyterianism of Calvinist Geneva and other continental centres so that the "via media" of the Elizabethan church settlement proved less than satisfactory to many. The result was the emergence of the Puritan wing of the Anglican Church which sought to dispense with what was perceived as being the vestigial traces of Rome in the use of the Book of Common Prayer, vestments, signing of the cross, kneeling, and so on. The queen's toying with Philip II of Spain's interest in marrying her lasted only a few months, but the dalliance with France's and the Holy Roman Empire's suitors from Roman Catholic France and Spain did not help matters, and, indeed, occasioned dismay among more than her Puritan subjects. However, England as a whole enthusiastically rallied to her support when the Spanish Armada appeared off the coast in 1588. The resounding victory was an additional antidote to the prevailing melancholy that saw "the world grown old". It is ironic that the year of the monarchy's greatest triumph should also see what one writer has called "the greatest controversy of

Elizabeth's reign"--the publication of the illegal Marprelate Tracts. With their vigorous attacks on the established church they were strangely prescient in their identification of some of the new Antichrists that would dominate the middle years of the next century, the bishops and clergy "who with the rest of that swinish rabble are petty Antichrists, petty popes".[18] It is not to be wondered that these tracts reappeared almost immediately when the censorship broke down in November, 1640, their raciness again making a strong appeal to the general populace. They played a considerable part then in fanning the flames of dissatisfaction with the Church of England whose new Laudian practices had made the state Church seem more tainted with Romanism than ever. As Christopher Hill observes in Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England, "by 1640 we have moved from Pope as Antichrist--a view held by most Elizabethan and Jacobean bishops--to the bishops themselves as Antichrist; for sectaries the whole hierarchy of the Church of England down to parish ministers was antichristian."[19]

This indeed seems to be Bunyan's view in the first decade of his ministry. In Grace Abounding he describes how in the Church of England he was so "overrun with the spirit of superstition that [he] adored, and that with great devotion, even all things, both the High-place, Priest, Clerk, Vestments, Service " (GA8-9). Despite his eventual self-reformation, when he thought "no man in England could please God better than [himself]" (GA14) he was prepared to reverence the most debauched of priests "(supposing they were Ministers of God), I could have layn down at their feet, and have been trampled upon by them; their Name, their Garb, and Work, did so intoxicate and bewitch me "(GA9). His attack on the Book of Common Prayer in I Will Pray with the Spirit was published while he was in prison, probably in 1662, before he had shown any evidence of his millenarianism, and is one of his few virulent treatises in an age where vituperation in pamphlet polemic was the rule, not the exception. In it he ignores the martyrdom of Cranmer (which in his millenarian works he calls attention to with approval), and calls the archbishop's Prayer Book "the Papistical Mass-Book, being the Scraps and Fragments of the devices of some Popes, some Friars, and I wot not what " (MWII,239). Just over twenty years later in The Pharisee and the Publican (1685) a marked change of tone can be discerned: he seems regretful that prayer "by a premeditated set form is now out of fashion". Although he still feels "extempore prayer" is the "best kind of praying", hard experience has shown him "a great many such prayers [are] made, especially in pulpits and public meetings, without the breathing of the Holy Ghost in them "(II,225). As his millenarian ideas evolve, Bunyan looks beyond the Roman and Anglican communions and enlarges Antichrist to encompass anything that is the "adversary of Christ". Every reprobate professor is "the body of Antichrist" (II,46): sectarians are included with those in the established churches. Yet perhaps most of the reprobate professors are still to be found in the state church, because the clergy are "blind mouths": "Scarce one of forty among them, know what it is to be born again, to have communion with the Father through the Son" (MWII, 240). But the bitterness in I Will Pray with the Spirit is understandable in a victim legally imprisoned for mere refusal to take part in Anglican worship and dogged determination to on with his unauthorized, yet orthodox preaching of the gospel. He comments with feeling that "one of the most eminent parts of the pretended Worship of God, is Antichristian; when it hath nothing but Tradition of men, and the strength of Persecution to uphold, or plead for it "(MWII,285).

Generations bred in an atmosphere of religious toleration that Bunyan and many of his cohtemporaries fought and suffered much to attain find the seventeenth-century Englishman's perennial fear of papal domination far-fetched to the point of paranoia, and certainly this fear stemmed as much from English nationalistic aspirations and enmity with France and Spain as from the popular association of Rome with Antichrist. Even so, the twentieth century finds it hard to comprehend how an unusually tolerant person like Richard Baxter seriously thought in 1654 that the Jesuits were secretly operating in England disguised as Quakers and millenarians, but such a belief was then intellectually respectable, just as respectable, in fact, as his investigations into witchcraft that again appear to us as bizarre. But it was these same fears that Titus Oates was able to exploit so successfully in 1678 with his exposure of the "Popish Plot". Eventually ridiculed, the threat seemed real enough at the time, as Bunyan's references to it make plain. Nevertheless, it has become apparent that there was really was an underlying substance to the threat, as historians have proved in charting the later Stuart kings' careers as pensioners of Louis XIV who, in return for monetary assistance, undertook to restore the Roman Catholic faith to the British Isles. Jeanne Bignami's recent recovery of a manuscript in Rome substantiates other evidence "because it shows us the interest the Jesuits had in prophecies in the tradition of Joachim of Fiori, and because it confirms their role in the troubled affairs of England at the end of the seventeenth century."[20] The general distrust of Rome had been grounded in harsh experience of long standing, and was to be found in all levels of society. At the end of ~~the~~ sixteenth century James VI of Scotland, despite his political cooperation with such Roman Catholic nobles as Huntly and Erroll, wrote a treatise on Revelation which named the Pope as "Antichrist and enemie to God", and it is interesting to find here a sovereign encouraging men to active resistance:

> ...with good conscience we may, being in the tents of the Saints, & beloued City, stand in our defence, encourage one another to vse lawfull resistance, and concurre or ioyne one with one another as warriors in one Campe....21

Ironically, these same sentiments were echoed in the Civil War to justify Parliamentarians as they waged war against James's son, Charles I. But in Pilgrim's Progress

(1678) (Popish Plot and probable Roman Catholic succession notwithstanding), John Bunyan depicts a Giant Pope who impotently stands "in his cave's mouth grinning at pilgrims" and perhaps this indicates some measure of England's confidence in herself as a nation. The Bedford preacher, however, has no illusion as to the reality of past dangers: the nearby path is littered with "blood, bones ashes, and mangled bodies of men" (PP65). Bunyan is more specific in some of his treatises about Rome's dealings with heretics: "Seasonable Counsel" (1684) and "Antichrist and His Ruin" (1692) both contain references to "the bloody massacres that have been committed by [Rome's] hand both in France, Ireland, Piedmont, and in several places besides... "(II,77). Earlier literature had, of course, expressed the pervasive sense of fear and distrust. In the late 1620s George Herbert in "The Church Militant" sees only a darkening horizon in which Pope and the Roman Empire are "one Antichrist" and even the "late Reformation" "shall ev'ry yeare decrease and fade;/Till such a darknesse do the world invade/At Christ's last coming, as his first did finde "(229-231). But perhaps Milton's cry for vengeance against "the triple Tyrant" in the "Late Massacre in Piedmont" (1655) is a more typical English reaction to any threat to the Protestant faith, one that had been bolstered by England's lively theatrical tradition, which, with figures like the Cardinal in James Shirley's play of that name in 1644, tended to exploit the more sensational fears popularly associated with the Roman hierarchy's supposed Machiavellian cunning. On occasion, the theatre also served to ventilate popular indignation. Middleton's A Game at Chess (1624) in its unprecedented nine day run netted the company the enormous sum of 1,500 pounds sterling, with its allegorical depiction of the marriage negotiations between Prince Charles and the Spanish Infanta. The widespread rejoicing when the projected match did not materialize showed how distasteful such a union would be to the majority of Englishmen. This deeply rooted, widespread antagonism to the thought of Rome's interference or domination, added to the papacy's being continually identified with Antichrist, did much to preserve and promote an apocalyptic climate of opinion favourable to millenarianism. Neither Bunyan nor any other Englishman could easily remain untouched by it.

McGinn points out that it is axiomatic that millenarianism as defined above can only flourish where there is a lively Christianity, an elementary point that is sometimes easy to overlook in the secular twentieth century.[22] A good measure of seventeenth-century England's spiritual temperature is the appetite for sermons, lectures, religious books and treatises. Despite derision from Restoration writers, public support of, and enthusiasm for, outstanding preachers remained high throughout the century. Bunyan's widespread popularity as a preacher was remarkable, although some of it was bound to be due to his reputation as a writer; certainly the inclusion of his works on Lady Wishfort's bookshelf in Congreve's The Way of the World (1700) is evidence of his fame. His first biographer

Charles Doe records in "The Struggler", "I also computed about three thousand that came to hear him one Lord's-day, at London, at a town's end meeting house" (III,767). The "meeting house" may have been Pinners Hall, one of the independent halls rented by people of means who had also a desire for thorough biblical exposition. Although lectureships cannot be completely equated with Independents, in Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution William Haller explains how even under the terms of the Elizabethan settlement Puritan preachers enjoyed a good deal of freedom and "devoted themselves over the years to preaching and to building up a powerful if unacknowledged preaching order within the church."[23] Local supporters, often influential people, paid the lecturers and assisted them in obtaining the necessary licence to preach from the bishop of the diocese. Archbishop Laud knew only too well the potential for subversion inherent in this independency, but his attempts to suppress it were too little and too late,[24] and it bore the expected fruit. Bunyan's distinguished friend and associate, William Dell, observed during the Civil War how the New Model Army "having marched up and down the kingdom, to do the work of God and the state...met with many Christians who have much gospel-light...and in such places where there hath been no gospel- ministry."[25] Dr. R. C. Richardson, in Puritanism in North-western England: a Regional Study of the Diocese of Chester to 1642 notes that the tendency for a "gathered church" to grow up around a lively Anglican incumbent or lecturer inevitably resulted in the laity's increasing involvement in the running of it, and how often it seemed that their radical ideas outran their minister's.[26] This proved the case with another associate of Bunyan's, "the sober Dr. Owen" whom Bunyan in Peaceable Principles and True (1676) calls "so mighty an armour bearer" (II,649). John Owen's father was a Puritan clergyman who stayed in the established church but inclined towards the Presbyterianism that was growing inside the state church. In the early part of the Civil War, his son, after much heart searching and study of the scriptures, "came to believe that the local church has authority from Christ to act in His name without any interference from any one outside the church membership"[27]: a position akin to Bunyan's. Having clarified his own mind on the matter, Owen proceeded to organize a congregational church within his parish of Coggeshall, in Essex around 1648, but from time to time was heard to complain that he worked "in the midst of a poor, numerous, provoking people".[28] The tendency of congregations, steeped in biblical knowledge, to start to form their own ideas, without doubt, would be "provoking". Bunyan was to contend with the same kind of thing, whether from those who wanted a more rigid policy regarding baptism for church membership, or from women who wanted to set up their own prayer meetings.

Owen and his congregation were involved in the four month siege of Colchester from June, 1648; he ruefully describes himself as "an endangered spectator,"[29] but the preaching went on. It made for the opportunity to minister to General Fairfax and his forces as well as his own flock, and he was later privileged to preach before the House of Commons on 19 April, 1649. His apocalyptic language was well suited to the occasion in the heady days where a new societal order of freedom and justice for all seemed to be within reach:

> Plainly, the peculiar light of this generation is that discovery which the Lord made to his people of the mystery of civil and ecclesiastical tyranny. The opening, unravelling, and revealing the Antichristian interest, interwoven and coupled together, in civil and spiritual things, into a state opposite to the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, is the great discovery of these days. Who almost is there amongst us now who doth not evidently see, that for many generations the western nations have been juggled into spiritual and civil slavery by the legerdemain of the whore, and the potentates of the earth made drunk with the cup of her abominations?--how the whole earth hath been rolled in confusion and the saints hurried out of the world, to give way to their combined interest? Hath not God unveiled that harlot, made her naked, and discovered her abominable filthiness? Is it not evident to him that hath but half an eye, that the whole present constitution of the government of the nations is so cemented with antichristian mortar, from the very top to the bottom, that without a thorough shaking they cannot be cleansed.30

It was a signal honour to address the members of Parliament, and the appreciative legislators put their stamp of approval on acceptable sermons by a vote of thanks in the house and publication of the sermon. The seventeenth-century's appreciation of sermons that today would be considered inordinately long and tedious is incontrovertible, but they were not only listened to with care and attention but also often written down by individual listeners. We have Bunyan's last sermon handed down to us through this means.

Yet with all this evidence of interest in spiritual matters, preachers continually berated the Englishman's apathy and immorality. Bunyan testifies in Grace Abounding that he himself, before his marriage "delighted in all transgression against the Law of God" distinguishing himself as "the very ringleader of all the Youth that kept me company, into all manner of vice and ungodliness,"(GA,7) and even up to the time of his death he continues to bewail not only the state of the nation at large, but, more surprisingly, the state of the gathered churches. Like everyone else in seventeenth-century England, he had been compelled to attend the parish church in his youth and it was not without some effect, since from the time he was nine or ten years old he feared in the night hours that his "cursing, swearing, lying and blaspheming the holy Name of God" (GA,6) would condemn his soul to the torments of hell on the day of judgment. If he did hear Cromwell's preaching captains as an impressionable sixteen year old conscript--and it would be difficult to imagine that he spent two and a half years in the Parliamentary army at Newport Pagnell under a godly commander like Sir Samuel Luke without doing so--it made no difference to his way of life. Indeed, George Offor, his nineteenth-century editor, formed the opinion that Bunyan had been in the Royalist army which had the reputation of being the "Damnees". But swearing was a gentlemanly prerogative the lower classes refused to concede. Earlier in the century, George Herbert, a man of large sympathies and generous spirit, thought depravity in his day was increasing and in "The Church Militant" predicted a dismal future for England: "Religion stands on tip-toe in our land/Readie to passe to the American strand,/When height of malice and prodigious lusts,/Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distrusts/(The marks of future bane) shall fill our cup" The censor certainly objected to Herbert's lines, presumably as a slur on the national character: only the intransigence of Herbert's literary executor, Nicholas Ferrar, ensured that The Temple (1633) saw the light of day unmutilated. Still, the eagerness with which these religious poems were snapped up, running to three editions in one year, makes it difficult to accept the view that morality was at an all-time low; it would be easy, indeed, to assign the age an all-time high were it not for the reservation that human nature has shown very little change in the centuries of recorded history. It is impossible to come to any final conclusion about the state of morals in the seventeenth century, but if religious writing is any barometer, we do have to concede there was an avid interest in religion. Haller estimates nearly half the books printed in England before 1640 were of a religious nature.[31] When censorship was abandoned in November, 1640, the spate of treatises, tracts, and sermons that rolled off the presses found ready buyers, and did much to disseminate millenarian ideas to an even wider public.

The heavy demand for works like the Marprelate Tracts shows that buyers were not all learned or wealthy: even servants were to be found who could read and write. In The Life of Colonel Hutchinson, his wife Lucy relates how the "poore wench his [Hutchinson's] maid, according to her measure, instructed him,"[32] reading to her charge from Lewis Bayly's The Practice of Piety (1612) before the child himself could read. Bayly's work would hardly qualify as a bedtime story choice for today's child or nursemaid. Given an affinity for the subject matter most adults would still find it difficult and dull, and this is not a reaction peculiar to our times, for almost a century ago Bunyan's biographer, John Brown remarks wryly that "it is difficult to account for its widespread popularity."[33] However, Bayly's book along with Arthur Dent's The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven (1601) was read by all sorts and conditions of men and women during the seventeeth century, from the Bedford tinker and and his pious wife whose only dowry the books were, to the Justice of the Peace satirized by Peter Hansted in 1644, "Justice Parker on whose cushion ly/ A Dalton and 'Practice of Piety.'"[34] Bayly's meditations as the title suggests, lay stress on how to live the godly life rather than how to achieve the new birth, and perhaps this is a partial explanation of Bunyan's dogged attempts at self-reformation before his conversion: in the preface to Grace Abounding he says ruefully, "I lay so long at Sinai "(GA,2). Dent's book, with which he was equally well acquainted, quite clearly sets out Calvinist theology with the marks of reprobation and election, and it is to be wondered that he did not find it of more assistance in his quest for salvation. Neither work is overtly millenarian, although they might claim to be apocalyptic with their emphasis on the four last things, death, judgment, heaven and hell. Dent's later work, however, The Ruine of Rome (1603) is frankly apocalyptic: he identifies the Beast and the False Prophet of Revelation as the Roman Empire and the Papacy, but, like Foxe, he harks backwards in time to date the millennium from the reign of Constantine, "in which the Church did flourish greatly".[35] The worldly popes of the fourteenth century brought this golden age to an end. Like bishop Godfrey Goodman, whose book The Fall of Man, or the Corruption of Nature Proved by Natural Reason (1616) stubbornly insisted that nature was in a state of irreversible decline, Dent believed that the end of all things was at hand and delivered a scathing attack on those who looked forward to a millennium--"This foolish error":

> The Chiliasts or Millenaries, doe fondly gather from this Scripture, that after the overthrow of Antichrist, the Lord Jesus would come and raigne with the faithfull, heere a thousand yeeres upon the earth, and that in this time, that Christ should to raigne, as a great and glorious king upon the earth, his subjects should enjoy all manner of earthly pleasures and delights.36

Bunyan, therefore, found no encouragement in Bayly or Dent to develop his millenarian ideas, and it is doubtful that he had first-hand access to the works of the two authors, after Foxe, who most heavily influenced millenarian thinking prior to the Civil War, Thomas Brightman (1562-1607) and Joseph Mede (1586-1668). However, through ministerial friends and associates like Owen, Dell, Jessey, Simpson, and Cockayne, all fervent millenarians, he would have become familiar with some of their ideas. Brightman in A Revelation of the Revelation (1615) parallels historical events with the seals, trumpets and vials of Revelation, but instead of looking back as do Foxe and Dent to a millennium that is completely in the past, he envisages a triumphal march towards it. He saw it begin with the Presbyterianism of Marsilius of Padua about 1300 and gradually progress through Wyclif and the Reformers; it is destined to culminate with the conversion of the Jews and the overthrow of the Turks and episcopal form of church government in the not so distant future. In the move away from the emperor Constantine as the saviour of the church, Brightman is the first person to detach the apocalypse from its imperial associations; this may explain why, according to B.S. Capp, he made his biggest impact after 1640.[37] Since his millennium is projected into the future his views proved congenial to the increasing number who were inclined to favour George Hakewill's cyclical theory of nature, which challenged Goodman's in Apologie or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World, Consisting in an Examination and Censure of the Common Errour Touching Nature's Perpetual and Universal Decay (1627). Milton, who was to come close to belief in a millennium, wrote a Latin poem, "Naturam non pati senium" supporting

Hakewill's position for the Cambridge Commencement of 1628.[38]

Earlier, Bacon's Novum organum (1620) envisioned progress as man acquiring power over nature, but he insisted on the separation of the secular from the religious and so could not meld it with a millennium. Tuveson suggests Bacon's dilemma resulted from his opinion that the scriptures did, in fact, bear out what Goodman claimed, and that the ancient idea of a world exhausting its fruitfulness could undoubtedly be proved from the Bible as well as the classics.[39] If he had read Hakewill he might well have seen the possibility of combining his idea of progress with that of the millennium, the version that came to dominate eighteenth-century thinkers, but it fell to Joseph Mede, Milton's tutor at Cambridge, to provide the real counterweight to Goodman at this particular time. His interpretation of Revelation lent him the status in the first half of the seventeenth century that Newton enjoyed in the second. Projecting a millennium entirely in the future he, too, analyses history by correlating the symbols in Revelation with specific events: the pouring out of the first vial, for instance, represents the return of the Albigensians and Waldensians to the true faith of the primitive church.[40] He states that the millennium will dawn with the blast from the seventh trumpet, and the last vial of God's wrath will descend on Rome itself. According to Mede the movement of history from the time of Christ is essentially an upward one, although setbacks do occur as evil is gradually being conquered by good. Tuveson suggests Mede "performed the important service of bolstering up the rising faith in the possibilities of progress with the tremendous authority of the oracle which most Protestants regarded as containing the divinely revealed epitome of world history."[41] In opposition to Foxe, Mede clearly asserts that Constantine's accession meant not a period of peace and safety for the church, but rather initiated a long period of degeneracy which had been brought to an end only with the Reformation. But he accepts Foxe's estimate of England (the nation where the recovery had first started) being in some way a second nation, after Israel, chosen of God to fulfil his purposes.[42] Bunyan's unequivocal statements that he had not read what other authors had written about Revelation make it unlikely he drew on Brightman or Mede directly, but his millennial ideas do bear some striking resemblances to theirs.

Millennial belief in the seventeenth century is almost always associated with a strong sense of nationalism which is something of a paradox, given the world-wide redemptive nature of the millennium. Bunyan, too, possesses a strong sense of England as an elect nation, a latter-day Israel whose divinely ordained task is to enlighten the world, bringing the peace and happiness that has eluded humanity since the Fall. Earlier, more militant millenaries had looked for conversions as the sword defeated Antichrist, and although Bunyan concedes that God might use the might of princes against Antichrist, his millennialism looks forward to the beauty of a church fellowship so united in love first towards Christ and then to each other, that it would prove irresistibly attractive to those outside. He looked for "a great harvest of sinners [that] shall be gathered by the grace of the gospel" (III,443) without coercion of any sort. In the new Jerusalem differences in subsidiary doctrines are washed away in the unity of Christian love and understanding. This peaceful millenarianism cannot but be a spur to Christ's great commission to "preach the gospel to every creature" as the church militant progresses inexorably towards the time, when, in the words of the great preacher and hymn writer of the next century Isaac Watts (1674-1748):

> Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
> Doth his successive journeys run:
> His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
> Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

That such a religious urge might be taken under the wing of imperialism was adumbrated by Cromwell's campaign in Ireland, but to millenaries who read the lesson in Constantine's reign, the idea of forceful conversion was both repugnant and useless.

The study of the apocalypse, then, was undertaken in good faith by seventeenth-century scholars as a means first of bringing glory to God and second, the exercising of their own God-given talents which are "death to hide". Even the new men of science considered it a worthwhile pursuit. At the end of the sixteenth century, John Napier, inventor of logarithms, had published "Plaine Discovery of the Whole Revelation of St. John (1593). By using his mathematical gifts to explain the cryptic "a time, and times, and half a time" of Revelation XII.14 he forecast the Day of Judgment as due to arrive between 1688 and 1700.[43] A century later Sir Isaac Newton gave a good deal of his time to deciphering prophecy, although his findings were not published until after his death. In Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John (1733) it is clear that the author believed he was living in the last age:

> It was a part of the prophecy that it should not be understood before the last age of the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy that it is not yet understood. But if the last age, the age of opening these things, be now approaching, as by the great successes of late interpreters it seems to be, we have more encouragement than ever to look into these things.44

Nevertheless, to demonstrate the widespread religious fervour accompanied by the renewal of a scholarly interest in the apocalpytic writings of the Bible does not really explain why millennial ideas should have been so widely disseminated in seventeenth-century Europe, or why the 1640s saw such a great upsurge of millenarianism in England. The golden age of Christianity in Northumbria in the eighth century produced a tremendous desire to evangelize, but no similar millenarian expectations. And while the number of dark references to Munster in the seventeenth century was legion, these failed to dampen the millennial enthusiasm.

Conceding the millenarian bias of the first two thirds of the century, and explaining it as best they might, historians have found it necessary to revise their previously widely held assumption that interest in millenarianism declined in

England after the Restoration in 1660, until by the 1690s it had become the province of religious fanatics and cranks. If this had really been so, Bunyan's interest in the millennium might well be suspect, since his writings on the subject date from 1665 until his death in 1688. As it is, he is in good company, far from the "lunatic fringe". Newton, for instance, was pursuing his researches at much the same time, and so was the highly respected and conservative Puritan preacher, Richard Baxter. Baxter, in the course of a pamphlet controversy with Edward Bagshaw in 1671 confesses that while he believes Christ to be presently reigning over the dead and the living, "whether he will Reign a thousand years in corporal visible presence on earth I am not wise enough to know."[45] He distrusted opinions that focussed people's minds on earth rather than heaven, but admits "some of my most intimate and honoured friends favour the Millenary Opinion: and I know how commonly it was owned by many of the Ancients, and who doth not honour the name of Mr. Jos. Mead, Dr. Twisse, Mr. Baily, Mr. Porter, & etc that did more than favour it?"[46] William Lamont has shown how the aged preacher, imprisoned for no good reason in 1686, set to work to interpret Revelation.[47] It was a mammoth task, since all the earlier interpretations had to be taken into account, and Baxter's conclusions after his extensive investigations were very much in line with those of John Foxe and included the acceptance of a millennium in the past. His willingness to pursue apocalyptic study represents a radical shift from his earlier days, and has much to do with the friendship he formed with a fellow prisoner, Thomas Beverley, whose millenarian scholarship he respected even while he deplored his premillennialism. He cautioned Beverley against the latter's predilection for setting dates for Christ's return, but Beverley, who declared himself "no enthusiast" ignored Baxter's advice and wrote a pamphlet predicting the downfall of Antichrist in 1697. Richard Baxter differed not only from Beverley but also from most of his contemporaries in his steadfast refusal to pinpoint the pope as THE Antichrist. His reflections in prison led him to conclude, as Bunyan had, that God's will on earth was to be achieved through the rule of Christian princes, but, unlike Bunyan, to whom the idea was anathema, he also clung to his lifelong belief that national churches were essential to the welfare of both state and Christianity.

On the surface both the foregoing ideas could be held to to be supportive of the reign of James II. However, as Lamont points out, for Baxter, "a National Church headed by a Papist sovereign was a contradiction in terms: a true understanding of imperial political theory ENCOURAGED RESISTANCE OF, NOT SUBMISSION TO, a Christian emperor who served Rome".[48] Baxter's implicit assumption, therefore, certainly brings him close to the view expressed by James's grandfather and equally certainly it is one unacceptable to his grandson. It is understandable that Baxter's thoughts on the matter were not published until 1690 and 1691, after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. Undoubtedly there were also "wild men" with millenarian views in the last decade of the century (as there always have been), yet it is clear that, in general, millenarian research was pursued by respectable scholars who found the topic intellectually and theologically challenging. Historians Christopher Hill, William Lamont, B.S. Capp, and Peter Toon are unanimous in their verdict that millennial thinking permeated English society until the end of the century, and Hill states, "we now see millenarianism as a natural and rational product of the assumptions of this society, shared by John Milton, and Sir Henry Vane as well as Vavasor Powell and John Roger".[49] To the first two names might be added that of John Bunyan who believed in a millennium, preached and wrote on the subject, drew deliberately on it sometimes for his works of fiction, and was consciously or unconsciously influenced by the idea as it was beginning to reflect the contemporary notion of progress as well as Christian doctrine. Its importance in any assessment of seventeenth-century history or literature must be taken into account because as William Lamont says, "millenarianism meant not alienation from the spirit of the age, but a total involvement in it."[50]

Lamont's statement applies, as we have seen, to the entire century, but it is especially relevant to the period of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum when the flood of publications included a wide variety of millenarian materials emanating from Anglicans, Presbyterians, Independents, Particular and General Baptists and other sects that were springing up in those heady days when the ruin of Antichrist seemed near and the new Jerusalem within reach. Bunyan was in the army for part of these exciting years and was already preaching and writing before the end of the Protectorate. But there is no evidence of millenarian ideas in his work until 1665. This may be thought somewhat strange since Christopher Hill claims that it is impossible to "over-estimate the effect on public opinion of such widely held expectations."[51]. The virtual freedom of the press, despite Parliament's attempt to clamp down on unlicensed publications, meant that all shades of opinion were promulgated. Milton, for one, observed with satisfaction "all this flowry crop and new light",[52] having declared emphatically in Areopagitica "Where there is much desire to learn there is of necessity much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion...is but knowledge in the making."[53] But his breadth of vision was shared neither by Parliament nor the Westminster Assembly of Divines that the legislators had called into being in order to bring the churches of the three kingdoms together in "doctrine, worship, discipline and government...so that we, and our posterity after us, may, as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us."[54] This desire for conformity was deep-seated and not altogether for purposes of state, but it was something that Bunyan and his fellow sectarians were destined to suffer by when they opposed it with their commitment to "gathered churches". Parliament's and the Assembly's fond hopes were shipwrecked almost before they left shore, destroyed by the very vitality of the Puritanism that had called both bodies into being.

With his wonted acumen Milton puts his finger unerringly on this root cause when he asks if "after all this light of the Gospel...all the Sermons, all the Lectures preacht, printed, vented in such numbers...to the contempt of the Imprimatur" how could the people of England be expected to remain "an unprincipl'd, unedify'd, and laick rabble"?[55] Cromwell, whose New Model Army eventually imposed its will on the nation, allowed his men unprecedented freedom to listen to sermons, debate scriptures and exercise their preaching gifts, but in the end was unable to control what he had helped to unleash. Puritans had sown the wind to reap the whirlwind. Unlike Milton, Richard Baxter was appalled that "every ignorant empty braine...hath the liberty of the Press", but, as Haller says, "the Puritan preachers had done their work too well. They had made too certain that common men should understand that the vocation of the saints led inevitably to justification and ultimate triumph, and that their calling was sealed to them in the gifts entrusted to them by the Lord."[56] There were those preachers like Bunyan's friend, the erudite William Dell, who accepted this eagerly as being in keeping with New Testament practice, convinced that he was living in "these last of last times"; and there were those like Thomas Edwards, author of Gangraena, who were filled with distress by the sight and sound of artisans preaching the gospel and perhaps even more by the sight of university trained men leading the new sects.[57] But to those imbued with the spirit of the age it seemed as if they were living in the latter days where the old men dream dreams and the young men see visions. The Holy Spirit was being poured out on all men as Babylon was being systematically destroyed, as the children of the kingdom were setting up Zion.

Since the overthrow of Antichrist had as its necessary corollary the setting up of Christ's kingdom, speculations and predictions as to exact dates were freely bandied about. The Fifth Monarchist Tillinghast, drawing on Napier, Brightman, and Mede thought that 1656 would complete the destruction of Antichrist, and prophesied the start of the millennium in 1701. John Canne, another Fifth Monarchist favoured 1700 as the year that Christ would set up his kingdom. Henry Jessey, Bunyan's associate, looked for the slaying of the witnesses to happen in 1654, an event that would be followed by mass conversion of the Jews before 1658. John Rogers, who had considerable influence on Cromwell and who became one of the leading Fifth Monarchy Men, thought that Rome would fall in 1660 and that the Fifth Monarchy would be apparent by 1660. More than forty dates were put forward in this way.[58] But if there was no agreement as to dates there was even less about the exact nature of the millennial kingdom. Most men were not so much looking for a supernatural happening as a period in which the true church would be purged of everything that demeaned her as the Bride of Christ; thus there was endless debate as to doctrines and practices that were to be abandoned or instigated anew if the church was to be restored to her primitive splendour. At the other end of the spectrum there were those who looked for a literal return of Christ himself, not as judge, but as king, and he would personally set up his kingdom and rule with the help of his saints. One of the clearest and most influential expositors of this was John Archer, who had been a London lecturer before his expulsion by Laud. In 1642 he published a treatise with the revealing title "The Personall Reign of Christ Upon Earth: In a Treatise wherein is fully and largely laid open and proved that Jesus Christ together with the Saints, shall visibly possesse a Monarchical State and Kingdom in this world". He provided a timetable for all the significant events leading to a millennium, following Mede's popular lead in assuming that the bishop of Rome had wrongfully assumed power about 400-406 A.D. By taking it as the latter date and adding 1260 he found "it maketh 1666 which is the time made the number of the Beast (referred to in Revelation xiii,18) that is, the Papacies duration...The seventh trumpet may begin presently after the ruine of Rome Anno Domini 1666 and bring in a pure state of the Churches."[59] By using figures from Daniel he was able to calculate that either 1650 or 1656 would see the conversion of the Jews and that "Christ's comming from Heaven, and raysing the dead, and beginning his kingdome, and the thousand years, will bee about the yeare of our Lord 1700 for it is to be about 45 yeares after 1650 or 1656."[60]

Different prognostications notwithstanding, there was a large measure of agreement when the Civil Wars were over, the King executed, and the Rump expelled, that the time had come at least to prepare for King Jesus's reign by setting up a godly government. The pragmatic Cromwell apparently did not intend to summon a parliament; the decision to establish an assembly of saints was largely due to the influence of the radical group in the army headed by Thomas Harrison and resulted in the calling of the Barebones Parliament. Cromwell's speech to the assembly of saints on 4 July, 1653 rings with the conviction that a new era, almost a millennium, lies ahead for England:

> Truly you are called by God to rule with Him, and for Him. And you are called to be faithful with the Saints, who have been somewhat instrumental to your call....I confess I never looked to see such a day as this--it may be, nor you neither--when Jesus Christ should be so owned as He is, at this day, and in this work.[60]

That the Barebones Parliament failed to fulfil the high destiny men envisaged for it is both indicative of the many shades of millenarian opinion in seventeenth-century England, and of the strength exercised by the small band of political Fifth Monarchists, led by the respected General Harrison, who were to so paralyse the body that the members had to seek their own dissolution five months after being called to Westminster.[61] In Bedfordshire at this juncture, the brazier John Bunyan was still searching for full certainty about his faith and probably already in contact with the small independent church founded by John Gifford. The failure of the Barebones Parliament was to have considerable effect on his life, and on the lives of others who, unlike the tinker at this stage of his career, entertained the age-old hope of being on the threshold of the millennium.

Chapter 3

Paradise Regained: Bunyan's Holy City

In 1665 Bunyan predicted in The Holy City that "as the world began with a paradise, so also shall it end with a paradise when sin and Satan have done their worst", yet one searches in vain for any trace of millenarianism in the poem One Thing is Needdful thought to have been published in the same year, or in his spiritual autobiography, Grace Abounding, published in the following year. In the latter work, given the widespread dissemination of millennialism in the previous two decades, coupled with such a recent articulate exposition of the subject, this may be thought a little strange, for there can be no doubt that by the time he wrote of his spiritual quest Bunyan was conversant with the various concepts of a millennium. His own exegesis of Revelation 21.10-27and 22.1-4 in The Holy City (1665) would be sufficient proof, even if none other existed, but it is well known that, not long after becoming a member of John Gifford's independent congregation in Bedford about 1653, he had friends and associates who were millenarians. The silk weaver, John Childe, for instance, is actually named by Thurloe as the local Fifth Monarchy agent,[1] and it is recorded in The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting (1650-1821) that he and Bunyan often performed pastoral and preaching duties together between 1656 and 1658.[2] They were present together, too, at public debates with the local Quakers. The young Quaker preacher, Edward Burrough, notes that "John

Bunyan and one Fen. and J. Child" disputed with the Friends on 23 October 1656.[3] During this close association, as Richard Greaves observes in "John Bunyan and the Fifth Monarchists", "Child would surely have explained his Fifth Monarchy principles to Bunyan."[4] Further evidence about their relationship may be gleaned from the Church Book. An entry early in 1659 records the elders' endeavours to ascertain the reason for Childe's absenting himself from their fellowship. and it is noted "our bro. Bunyan hath spoken with bro: Childe to come and render a reason of his withdrawing...."[5] It is clear from the Church Book entries that considerable thought was given by the elders as to which members would be best suited to undertake the various church duties. Bunyan's role here betokens both the trust reposed in him by the church and his closeness to Childe. The presence of Childe in the congregation supports Roger Sharrock's suggestion that the Bedford Meeting's first pastor, John Gifford, may have had millenarian leanings himself. In the touching death-bed letter (September, 1655) enjoining the congregation to remain true to their founding principles of "ffaith in Christ and Holiness of life, without respect to this or that circumstance or opinion in outward and circumstantial things",[6] there is a puzzling remark urging them to "forget not [their] brethren in bonds."[7] Professor Sharrock thinks it is possible this is a reference to the leading Fifth Monarchists, Christopher Feake and John Rogers, whom Cromwell had imprisoned.

It is probably safe to say that while Bunyan well was acquainted with millenarianism in the 1650s, he appears to have been unmoved by it. His two earliest treatises written to take issue with Quaker teachings, Some Gospel-truths Opened (1656) and A Vindication of the book called, Some Gospel-Truths Opened (1657) do contain a measure of apocalypticism, but they have no overt millenarianism. It might be pertinent to note here how this incidentally serves to confirm the veracity of the account of his conversion in Grace Abounding (1666). By the time he wrote his spiritual autobiography he had developed his own millennial ideas, yet even hindsight does not colour the memories of spiritual turmoil: hope of a millennium, apparently, played no part in his conversion. What caused the later radical change in his thinking shown in The Holy City (1665) may be speculated upon; the poems One Thing is Needful and Ebal and Gerizzim are strongly apocalyptic, but show no evidence of millenarianism. It is true, of course, that the publication date, 1665, is not certain. It is possible that the incarceration in Bedford Gaol after 1660 with the consequent greater freedom to study the Bible played a part in the development of Bunyan's ideas, and it is of interest to remark that his copy of John Foxe's Acts and Monuments is dated 1662.[8] In these circumstances, Bunyan's own account of how he came to write The Holy City (1665), is the only reliable information we have. In his touching preface to the work, he tells of his drooping spirits when called on to take his turn in preaching the Sunday sermon to his fellow prisoners and his lighting on Revelation would suggest a degree of chance, although neither Bunyan nor that very early English literary figure, Caedmon, would call it anything less than providential. In an age when it was the most natural thing in the world to identify with biblical precedent, those imprisoned for their faith would inevitably turn their thoughts to examples of those punished unjustly for holding fast their beliefs: Ezekiel, Daniel, and John the Divine would readily spring to mind. How the elderly imprisoned Richard Baxter turned to a study of Revelation in 1686 has already been touched on, and parallels Bunyan's experience, although the influence of Baxter's fellow prisoner, the fervent millenarian Thomas Beverley, is obvious in his case. Bunyan makes no reference to anyone else having influenced him. Indeed, he goes to considerable pains to disclaim it, asserting his own study of Revelation led him to the conclusions he places first before his gaol audience and then the wider reading public.

That the climate of opinion in the 1660s was still conducive to an active expectation of the millennium is undeniable, and the year 1666 was reckoned by many to be the year of Christ's return. But whether millenarian expectations were stronger then than say, in 1653 when the parliament of saints was called, and an unknown Bedford tinker was suffering an agonising conversion experience is doubtful. Bunyan's own lack of reference to the millennium in Grace Abounding (1666) is the best evidence that it formed no significant part of his thoughts at that time or during the early part of his ministry. As the preface to his autobiography makes clear, his intention is simply to "lay down the thing as it was", and in the telling he fears even to use the devices of rhetoric for greater effect:

> I could ~~have~~ enlarged much in this my discourse, of my temptations and troubles for sin, as also of the merciful kindness and working of God with my soul. I could also have stepped into a stile much higher then this in which I have here discoursed, and could have adorned all things more then here I have seemed to do, but I dare not. God did not play in convincing of me; the Devil did not play in tempting of me...wherefore I may not play in my relating of them, but be plain and simple and lay down the thing as it was. (GA,3-4)

Further reflection in later years caused Bunyan to make considerable additions to Grace Abounding (1666), and whatever his reasoning for this, it seems unlikely that the man who wrote A Few Sighs from Hell (1658) would do so merely for the sake of embellishment or self-aggrandisement as William York Tindall thinks probable.[9] Bunyan refuses to allow his changed millenarian notions to influence his backward examination of himself, and if, indeed, the prevalent millenarianism around him played any part in his coming to "close with Christ", he was obviously unaware of it.

Perhaps the thing that strikes the modern reader as being most unusual about this autobiography is the absence of detail about the author's personal life--what kind of man would omit even the name of the young woman he first married and who so obviously was an influence for good on him? The years in the army are given short shrift as well. There is little but a bald account (added later) of his preservation resulting from his giving way to a comrade's desire for action which led to the latter's death: "coming to the siege, as he stood Sentinel, he was shot into the head with a Musket bullet and died " (GA,8). There is no indication as to where the incident took place; unlike most old soldiers Bunyan seems uninterested in either the campaigns or the great issues that were at stake. That he was not influenced to any extent by the Levellers is indicated by the readiness with which he signed up to serve in Ireland after his two-year term was finished. Recent scholarship deduces Bunyan served in the parliamentary army's garrison at Newport Pagnell from October 1644 to about July 1647, where Sir Samuel Luke, later to be so savagely satirised by Butler in Hudibras, was commander. Lacking any concrete information from Bunyan himself, his nineteenth-century editor, George Offor, concludes that Bunyan's "delight in all transgressions against the law of God" makes it more probable that he served on the Royalist side, as was mentioned above, and this despite Offor's having access to Agnes Beaumont's account, published in 1674, of the unfortunate incident when this young woman prevailed on Bunyan to give her a ride to a church meeting in defiance of her father's will. The narrative states categorically that the Bedford preacher served in the Parliamentary army.[10] It is legitimate to surmise that the sixteen-year old youth must have been exposed to Cromwell's preaching captains as well as the ideas of the Levellers and millenarians then rampant in the Commonwealth armies. He would, in all likelihood, have been subjected to a variety of religious views ranging from those of the Presbyterian, Thomas Ford, the garrison chaplain and a member of the Westminster Assembly, to the Baptist convictions of Captain Hobson.[11] It is also interesting to note that William Erbery the Seeker, according to Thomas Edward in Gangraena, was in Newport Pagnell in 1646.[12]

There are certain similarities between Erbery's millenarianism and Bunyan's: they both emphasize the church unity of the millennial period, and their views on baptism, too, are somewhat alike. I do not think that their presence together in Newport Pagnell has been commented on before. Erbery was not an inconsiderable scholar, holding an M.A. from both universities, and, his own millenarianism notwithstanding, he was steadfastly opposed to the Fifth Monarchists, although his remonstrances to Vavasor Powell, Feake, Simpson, and like-minded people are couched in comparatively gentle terms. He fears they direct others to look for carnal things in a "personal reign of Christ" and he comes rather close to the Spiritual Fransciscans in his claim "the third dispensation...will be more spiritual...this second coming will be more in the Spirit yet."[13] Like Bunyan, he looks for Christian unity in a New Jerusalem which will be gradually established, not by force, but by spiritual means. Even so, it still appears that nothing Bunyan may have heard in the Army affected his conscious thinking, for when he returned to his native Elstow he tried to take the fullest part possible in the hierarchical Church of England. Cromwell's captains, the millenarians, and the Levellers seemingly left him curiously untouched: what effected his reformation was apparently marriage to the virtuous young woman whose name remains unknown to us.

But whatever its shortcomings judged by modern autobiographical standards, Grace Abounding remains a powerfully moving account of what it was intended to be--the progress of a Puritan conversion. It is, of course, only one of the multitude of such spiritual odysseys published in the seventeenth century, most of them after the upsurge of independent nonconformist thought after 1640.[14] As a distinct literary genre the autobiography is comparatively modern. Virtually unknown prior to Bunyan's century, modern critics often focus on the striking contrast between the earlier spiritual and later secular examples. Robert Bell, in "Metamorphosis of Spiritual Autobiography" sees this as being due to a weakening of the inherited Puritan ethos from the eighteenth century onwards: "There is a new assumption foreign to that spiritual heritage...that a life story depicts self-realization; showing how the autobiographer's origins and experiences have shaped the personal identity."[15] It is no surprize that the actual coining of the word belongs to the Romantic era. Southey's use of it in 1809 perfectly reflects the preoccupation with the individual--a preoccupation obviously far removed from a Bunyan or a

Herbert wrestling to set down accurately, not the effect of the social or political environment on his development as an individual, but "the work of God upon my own Soul, even from the very first, till now; wherein you may perceive my castings down, and raisings up." (GA,2) All other matters fade into insignificance compared with the central concern of being made right with God.

A concern like this seldom troubles the reader who finds religion peripheral in the modern world, and it follows that conventional accounts of seventeenth-century conversions often leave such a person at a loss, or endeavouring to explain them in twentieth-century terms. To be sure, the intensity of a self-examination is all too familiar in popular psychology, ~~but~~ the rigorous perusal of the self, not in the light of Freud or James, but in the light of biblical strictures that leave no shred of excuse for human behaviour is something rather outwith twentieth-century experience. The depiction of the believer, alone, face to face with the omnipotent, omniscient God of the Bible, in physical and mental anguish as to whether the call is "effectual" or not, is altogether alien to modern thinking with its prevalent view of God as either transcendent--an abstract spirit remote from humanity--or, at the other extreme, a benevolent entity "too good to condemn anyone", caricatured as Santa Claus. A conversion experience like Bunyan's in this day and age would almost certainly lead straight to the psychiatric ward, and, even if recognised for what it was, might well appear excessively egocentric. When William York Tindall categorises the accounts of spiritual upheavals like those of Bunyan and his generation as being merely "testimonials to their [own] apostolic excellence" he speaks for many who also find the seventeenth-century propensity to identify with biblical figures somewhat repugnant. Whether found in a gentleman, soldier, and statesman like Cromwell, or a tinker turned preacher like Bunyan, to identify oneself with St. Paul as "the chief of sinners" smacks of conceit and hypocrisy rather than Christian humility and honesty. But it may well be that the failure to understand the seventeenth-century turn of thought is mostly due to the twentieth-century unfamiliarity with the Bible itself. St. Paul is vaguely considered to be one of the giants of the Christian faith, without any of his self-confessed weaknesses taken into account. Professor Sharrock reminds us, too, that we are conditioned (often by television evangelism) by our present-day expectation of what constitutes Christian conversion; consequently, we may fail to take into account that in the seventeenth century "conversion was not a sudden upheaval, such as took place under some emotional perversions of Calvinism in later periods...."[16] Until conviction of sin is a stark, terrifying reality, when, in Bunyan's words, sin is known to be "most barbarous and a filthy crime" (GA,60) in the sight of a holy and just God, a person is simply not capable of realizing the necessity to "turn or burn". Only the comprehension of personal depravity, leading to despair of self-reformation and a seeking of God's grace to accomplish what human beings cannot do for themselves leads to redemption. As Bunyan says somewhat grimly in The Doctrine of Law and Grace Unfolded (1659), "it is one thing to be convinced, and another to be converted; one thing to be wounded, and another to be killed, and so to be made alive again by the faith of Jesus Christ " (MWII,177). Once convicted of sin, the ensuing sense of shame and unworthiness is so overwhelming that the Pauline words are appropriated by the believer with complete sincerity.

This being so, it is inevitable that Bunyan's Grace Abounding should have much in common with similar seventeenth-century accounts of the same experience. The borrowing of words from others which seem best to describe shared experiences is not at all surprising, particularly when both the experiences and the language were drawn for the most part from the same well--the Bible. The same linguistic phenomenon is apparent in our own age. Most people have adapted to the easy use of "pop" psychological terminology and "relate" to each other well. More recently, the feminist movement has had considerable success in banishing words that had previously enjoyed secure places in English usage: for instance, the previously innocuous word "mankind" is now suspect. Henry Jessey, a distinguished Baptist theologian, with strong millenarian leanings, and whose theology accords well with Bunyan's, charts the course of one conversion in 1647 (that of Mistress Sarah Wight), using the conventional wording of his day. This young woman's mental torment lasted much longer than even John Bunyan's: over a period of years she went so far as to try to take her own life several times. Her deep despair was, like Bunyan's, lightened now and then by glimpses of certainty; her worst thoughts, like his, came during the night. She was momentarily heartened, as he was, by sermons and the counsel of friends; like him, she had fears that she was reprobate. Jessey reports some of her actual words: "When I went on the streets, I thought the earth would open and swallow me up."[17] The Bedford preacher, too, remembers how he felt himself to be an outcast--something even Nature abhorred and rejected:

> ...methought I saw as if the Sun that shineth in the Heavens did grudge to give me light, and as if the very stones in the street, and tiles upon the houses, did bend themselves against me; methought that they all combined together to banish me out of the World....(GA,58-59)

Mistress Sarah Wight did find assurance at last, and Jessey reports that she is "Now hopefull, and joyfull in the Lord", and that she now, like Bunyan later, "desired that others might hear and know, what the Lord had done for her soul, (that was so terrified day and night) and might neither presume, nor despair and murmure against God, as shee hath done."[18] But Bunyan was never driven to the extreme of doing himself bodily harm as was Sarah Wight. The "Christian Reader" of Jessey's account is urged to pray for the restoration of the young woman's physical health "which is yet weak, through her pining away in continuall anguish of spirit: and her grievous hurting her head against walls in her terrors and temptations, being persuaded, that she was in Hell already."[19] Bunyan would understand Mistress Wight's fears, for he was afraid himself that he would actually see the devil, and even imagines that he feels him "pull [his] cloaths" (GA,34).

Before his conversion the Bedford preacher's desolate condition is not lightened by any hope of an imminent millennium. His mind is preoccupied by gloomy apocalyptic forebodings: death, judgment, heaven and hell are ever before him, except that hopes of heaven are fleeting compared with fears of hell. He remembers that even in childhood he had been "greatly afflcited and troubled with the thoughts of the day of Judgment, and that both night and day, and should tremble at the thoughts of the fearful torments of Hell-fire" (GA,6). But despite his fears that he is reprobate, and the many doubts and setbacks, there is an upward movement towards certainty, especially after he "sat under the Ministry of holy Mr. Gifford, whose Doctrine, by Gods grace, was much for my stability " (GA,37). Now the coming of Christ to judgment is a future event no longer to be feared but welcomed:

> But, oh! now how was my soul led from truth to truth by God! even from the birth and cradle of the Son of God, to his ascention and second coming from Heaven to judge the world.(GA,37)

Although at this point in his career Bunyan has still no thought of a millennium, he does recall vividly how "in the spirit" he had seen Christ at the right hand of God and witnessed "the manner of his comming from Heaven to judge the world with glory " (GA,38). His lack of millennial ideas while seeking assurance of salvation is definitely not due to lack of acquaintance with the book of Revelation or apocalyptic passages from the Bible. He finds help in "the fift of the Revelations" (GA,38) to come to an understanding of how Christ can be man as well as God, and he finds comfort for "many days together" in the assurance of the New Jerusalem as the writer to the Hebrews describes the glorious spiritual union of Christ with his church: "Ye are come unto mount Zion, to the City of the living God, to the heavenly Jerusalem "(GA,82). But still no earthly Jerusalem is contemplated here.

If millennial expectations played no part in Bunyan's conversion, neither was it of importance in his early preaching years. Why this should have been so, given circumstances where he must have had every opportunity to hear and be heartened by such millennial hopes is a moot point. It may have been that he did not feel sufficiently enlightened to formulate any clear ideas on a subject he knew well enough to be "hard and knotty"; the plethora of interpretations may have decided him against embarking on his own. Nor does it appear likely that false modesty dissuaded him. Armed with his Bible, preaching justification by faith in Christ alone, he confesses to feeling "as if an Angel of God had stood by at my back to encourage me", and he is unimpressed that "the Doctors and Priests of the countrey did open wide against me "(GA,87). In the letter addressed to "The Learned Reader" that prefaces The Holy City he states candidly that he finds in worldly learning and wisdom "a spirit of whoredom and idolatry " (III,398). His choice of authority, like that of most mechanick preachers and indeed, of Protestantism generally, is the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and to the end of his days he relies on the insight given him directly by the Holy Spirit to interpret them. It is true he had no access to "the fathers" in the libraries of the two universities, nor had he the knowledge of Greek and Hebrew that Protestantism set much store by, but these lacks, although he himself would not have considered them deficiences, do not mean to say that he did not learn a great deal from men who had the benefit of a university education. He had studied Luther's Commentary on Galatians and Foxe's Acts and Monuments with close attention and is meticulous in acknowledging his debt. He was, of course, at this time deeply engrossed with the overwhelming problem of his own religious certainty, but another possible explanation of Bunyan's apparent lack of interest in millenarianism at this point may be that he realised that such interpretation as he might be inclining to differed radically from those of some of his closest friends and associates--the very people who had been instrumental in leading him towards the salvation he sought.

We have his own assurances, the testimony of those who knew him best, and the hard evidence of the few instances that he did enter into pamphlet warfare that he never engaged in controversy lightly. And this very reluctance, though it may have been largely due to his own natural temperament, may also be linked to his millennial beliefs, although he never says so directly. The disputes he did engage in concerned the things he felt most passionately about. He tells us that he had early determined not to render "rayling for rayling":

> never cared to meddle with things that were controverted, and in dispute among the Saints, especially things of the lowest nature; yet it pleased me much to contend with great earnestness for the Word of Faith, and the remission of sins by the Death and Sufferings of Jesus: but I say, as to other things, I should let them alone, because I saw they engendered strife, and because I saw they neither, in doing nor in leaving undone, did commend us to God to be his: besides, I saw my Work before me did run in another channel even to carry an awakening Word; to that therefore did I stick and adhere. (GA,87)

Confronted by any challenge to the doctrine of justification by faith in Christ he is swift to retaliate, as the treatises directed against the Quakers and Edward Fowler's later latitudinarianism show. And the strict communion Baptists' insistence on the necessity of the rite as a condition for church fellowship aroused his ire sufficiently for public refutation. The life-long commitment that Bunyan had to Christian unity based on faith in Christ and holiness of life probably derives from John Gifford's example, although the influence of Henry Jessey and William Dell cannot be overlooked. This commitment has a direct bearing on his millennial beliefs, as will be seen, because he is convinced that Christian unity will prelude and mark the millennium, whereas divisions and differences among Christians in secondary matters retard its coming. Bunyan's generally peaceable disposition is attested to by his own actions as well as by his friends. One biographer comments on the fact Bunyan in company was more content to listen than speak.[20] His kindly nature made him susceptible to Agnes Beaumont's distress at not being able to attend a church meeting, with the unfortunate consequences that caused them both so much grief. And even his final illness was the result of going far out of his way to reconcile a son with his father.

So we can scarcely accept that the early debates with the Quakers in Some Gospel-truths Opened (1656) and A Vindication of Some Gospel Truths (1657) derive from either Bunyan's propensity to argue or the common contentious spirit of his times. These early arguments with the Society of Friends did, however, prove beneficial to Bunyan, doing much to cement his newly-arrived-at faith, and looking back in Grace Abounding he confesses, "for as the Quakers did oppose his Truth, so God did the more confirm me in it, by leading me into the Scriptures that did wonderfully maintain it "(GA,39). The Quakers' emphasis on "the inner light", Bunyan argues, denigrates Christ's atoning work on Calvary. He says later in The Doctrine of Law and Grace Unfolded (1659) that they, along with the Ranters, come closest to committing the unpardonable sin of "knowingly, wilfully, and despitefully" rejecting Christ's sacrifice (MWII,209). In Some Gospel-truths Opened (1656) he accuses them not only of promulgating erroneous doctrines about the nature and work of the historic Christ, but also of actually preaching a "new and false Christ", belief in whom only "counterfeits the new birth":

> ...a Christ crucified within, dead within, risen againe within, and ascended within, in opposition to the Son of Mary,. who was crucified without, dead without, risen againe without, and ascended in a cloud away from his Disciples into heaven without them.
>
> ....
>
> Who will come againe also at the end of the world to judgement. (MWI,19-20)

Here again Bunyan deals with Christ's second coming to judgment not as part of a millennial overview of history, but as part of what is essentially a robust defence of the articles of the Apostles' Creed. Christ is most truly both God and man. T. L. Underwood says, "he stresses the dual nature of Christ's person, the outward physical qualities of Christ's work, and the temporal distinctions between Christ's activities in the past, in the present, and in the future " (MWI,xxx). Without the slightest reference to a millennium, Bunyan postulates the second coming of Christ to judgment is an actual event which will indubitably take place in the future, in opposition to the Quaker position that biblical references to the second coming are references to "his coming in the Spirit". Bunyan's stance is impeccably orthodox: the concern with the second coming serves to emphasize an historic Christ, "that very Man [who]...in that very body shall come again to these ends. 1.First to judge the quick and the dead. 2.receive his Saints to himselfe. 3.To passe eternal condemnation on his enemies " (MWI,48). No hint here as yet of a millennial vision: indeed, both treatises appear to contradict any such idea.

Along with many millenarians, past and present, Bunyan does anticipate this second coming to judgment will take place "very shortly," (MWI,84) but the millenarians expect Christ to set up the thousand year kingdom, a very different thing from Bunyan's expectation of judgment. Bunyan draws on the "little Apocalypse" of Matthew 24 to give his reasons for the conviction that he is living in the last times, urging his readers to study the prophecies for themselves. He perceives the Christian church apostate and steadily deteriorating; "there is a falling away from the faith...that hath been fulfilled and is fulfilling every day " (MWI,84). Doubtless his recent involvement with a barren national church as well as the Quakers colours this pessimistic statement. In his later millenarian treatises he strikes a much more optimstic note, finding encouragement in the "clearness [that] do the saints in this day see the things pertaining to the kingdom of God, beyond what the holy and goodly martyrs and saints did in the days that were before us; Huss, Bilney, Ridley Hooper, Cranmer with their brethren" (III,438). The faithful Anglicans among them, including the compiler of the Book of Common Prayer are to be now justly celebrated by the saints! But for the meantime, Bunyan perceives only darkness. The wars and rumours of war that are plaguing Europe are "another sign that his coming doth draw nigh even at the doors" (MWI,84). Moreover, the "new upstart sect" those Quakers who are so much in evidence in Bedfordshire, are the prophesized "scoffers in the world, walking after their own lusts" (MWI,85). Bunyan's alarm at the rapid growth and spread of George Fox's distinctive teachings was shared by many. The Friends were almost alone in being persecuted during the Commonwealth, yet this did not stop large numbers, sometimes even whole congregations (often Baptists), from converting to Quakerism.

If the cause for alarm, in retrospect, was needless, at the time the influx of Friends to the county and the conversion of some local notables must have appeared threatening enough to the tiny gathered churches, even while they themselves basked in the blessing of Cromwellian state support. The threat, moreover, was not altogether without foundation: it is estimated that in 1660 there were 30,000-40,000 Quakers in an English population of about 5,000,000 (MWI,xviii). Like all seventeenth-century statistics this may be a suspect figure, but, given the circumstances in Bedford, the clash between the leaders of the Bedford Meeting and the Quakers was inevitable. The Quaker, Edward Burrough, who was later imprisoned for his beliefs in Newgate, where he died in 1663, noted, as we have seen, Bunyan's presence along with others from the Meeting during the debates, although he claims in his reply to Bunyan, True Faith of the Gospel of Peace Contended For (1656) (surely something a contradiction in terms) "I know not your faces". Burrough does not hesitate to place Bunyan and his colleagues with "the flock of Ishmaell and of the seed of Cain, whose line reaches unto the Murthering Priests, Scribes and Pharisees " (MWI,xxxiii). No matter how much we may deplore such standard vituperation on the part of seventeenth-century pamphleteers, at least we are never left in any doubt as to where the writers stand. Bunyan, in his turn, counters Burrough's treatise with A Vindication of Some Gospel-truth Opened (1657). As he specifically replies to questions asked by the young Quaker, he takes great pains here to differentiate more exactly between the Quakers' "inner light" and the orthodox view of the work of the indwelling Holy Spirit. He agrees with him that "Christ as he is God, doth give to every man a light which is Conscience, otherwise called Nature" (MWI,163), but goes on to argue that the Holy Spirit possessed by every believer cannot be that light because "it doth not appear, that either the Father, or the Son hath given the Spirit to every one that comes into the world "(MWI,163). And he is quick to notice that the Quakers themselves, by conceding some persons to be reprobate, undermine their own position (MWI,150).

In "True Faith of the Gospel of Peace Contended For" (1656) Burrough makes an effort to deflect Bunyan from his defence of orthodoxy by claiming first, that Quakers and Baptists, do, in fact, agree on certain doctrines and second, by introducing the controversial subject of the millennnium.

But Bunyan in his reply adroitly avoids both pitfalls. He is, by now, as T. L. Underwood observes, suspicious and distrustful of statements made by Quakers in debate, (MWI,xxxiv) observing wryly in his preface to the reader, "They will say, they do own the second coming of Christ to judg the world; but search them to the bottom, and you will find them onely to own him in his coming in Spirit, within, in opposition to the glorious coming of the Lord Jesus, the Son of Mary, from heaven in the clouds, with all his mighty Angels to raise the dead, and bring them to judgment, according to the Scripture." Burrough's second ploy is the more artful, as he throws out three seemingly innocent but tantalising questions directly concerned with the millennium. With speculation on the subject at fever pitch just before Venner's attempted insurrection in 1657 it could well have proved tempting enough bait to shift the whole ground of the dispute. The Quaker's questions as to whether or not the devil will be chained before Christ reigns, what, in fact, constitutes the chain and "whether are thou come to one of the thousand days Yea or no?" (MWI,205) are firmly disposed of by Bunyan:

> Christ hath two severall times wherein Satan must be bound by him, one is at the conversion of sinners, the other when he shall come the second time, and personally appear, and reign, in the world to come.
> Again, whether I am come to one of the days of the thousand years?
> No, because he that doth reign, with Christ one of these days, shall live and reign with Christ a thousand years. Rev.20.4. But there is never a beleever in the world, that doth, or in any likelyhood shall live halfe as long, before they die or be changed at

> the coming of the man Christ Jesus. (MWI205)

Bunyan's answer makes quite plain his belief that the saints are to reign in heaven with Christ, not on earth, and this is in direct contradiction to millenarians, especially the Fifth Monarchy Men.[21] Even when he later adopts a belief in a millennium, Bunyan does not suggest that the saints will govern the world, although he does expect that the "princes" will be so enamoured of the Holy City they will be "Jerusalem men". A more radical shift in his opinion when he embraces a millenary position is his view of the chaining of Satan that Burrough refers to and which is found in Rev.20.1-3:

> And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent, who is the Devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and shut him up, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more, till the thousand years should be fulfilled; and after that he must be loosed a little season.

In answering Burrough Bunyan avers that Satan's binding occurs "at the conversion of sinners" and "in the world to come", but in "The Holy City" (1665) he responds to those who object that the saints during the millennium will still have evil hearts by assuring them that those "evil hearts" will be less disposed to wickedness precisely because Satan will be bound during this millennial period. He admits they will continue to be "imperfect and come short of a glorified state" but, despite "the remainders of [their] corruptions, they will enjoy a measure of "joy and peace and heavenly sweetness" hitherto unknown (III,426). But this opinion lies eight years in the future. Before his imprisonment Bunyan simply has not developed, even under the influence of friends who might be millenarians, any idea of a millennium. He accepts neither Foxe's idea that the millennium lies in the past nor the view of some that it may actually be in the present. Even less does he consider the "thousand years" to be a literal earthly period when Christ will reign with his saints--the second coming which he often refers to at this stage in his career is strictly Christ's coming to judge "the quick and the dead". His answer to Burrough suggests he considers the "thousand years" a figurative term for eternity: in the midst of frenetic millenarian expectation he remains a stoical amillennialist.

Long before publishing his first millenarian work The Holy City in 1665 Bunyan continued to write on doctrinal themes, ignoring both Burrough's response to his second treatise Truth (The Strongest of All) Witnessed Forth (1657) and George Fox's personal attack on him in two sections of The Great Mystery of the Great Whore Unfolded (1659) (MWI,xxviii). But perhaps the Bedford preacher's following work A Few Sighs from Hell (1658) is indeed a reply, albeit an indirect one, for it has been often noted that the advertisement for this work appeared in the same issue of "Mercurius Politicus" as the announcement of Cromwell's death. Wilful ignorance, as Bunyan shows in Pilgrim's Progress, leads to Hell even when it may seem that the wayward are close to Heaven's gate. The issue is squarely faced in treatise, and often much is made of Bunyan's apparent "class consciousness", but to those who see it expressing "a strong hostility towards those qualities which he considered characteristic of his social superiors"[22] it might be pointed out how moderate Bunyan's language is, as he develops his sermon on the popular subject of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16.19-31). A comparison with a tract written in the same year by Humphrey Moseley illustrates this. Moseley's open attack on the gentry is couched in the same figures of Dives and Lazarus, but it is pressed home in a vitriolic manner as he castigates the upper classes for their riches and idolence, claiming all men equal in their descent from Adam--"Is not the beggar on the dunghill the same mans child with you?"[23] His accusations have a threatening tone:

> The troubles of the nation stem from the nobility and gentry's failure to play their proper part in the kingdom. Dives is loved less than Lazarus...whence is it that so few great ones are called and the poor receive the gospell?...selfe-deniall which is yet made by Christe himselfe, [is] the most indispensably necessary introduction to Christianity.24

Bunyan, like Moseley, and, indeed, like Christian commentators from Christ himself on, certainly sees the folly of "the great ones of the world...[who] look upon themselves to be the onely happy men" (MWI,252), and he admits believers are "most commonly of the poorer sort" (MWI,254). But riches and poverty are not the subject of the treatise. He points out to his readers that "though Christ doth say 'There was a certain rich man' yet you must understand he meaneth all the ungodly, rich or poor.'"

Lazarus, representing the saints who are certainly "for the most part a poor despised, contemptible people" is to be thought of as the godly who know they must "beg earnestly for heavenly food " (MWI,255). Bunyan's warnings, therefore, are not directed to the rich as such, but to the ungodly who "at the day of judgement...must stand at the left hand of Christ, among an innumerable company of damned ones " (MWI,280). His urgency stems from his own commitment to Christ and his calling as a preacher of the gospel, for he is assured in his own mind that he is truly called to preach. This being so, with Paul he can say "Woe betide me if I preach not the gospel", and the gospel, however much protest is offered indubitably includes Christ's own counsel to seek the narrow thorny way that leads to heaven rather than the broad primrose path to perdition. A Few Sighs from Hell (1658) was penned to urge unbelievers to think well about the claims of Christ because judgment day cannot be far off when, "the graves are ready to fly open, the trumpet is near sounding, the sentence will ere long be past, and then you and I cannot call time again" (MWI,362). Once more it is to be noted that this judgment will not be preceded by any thousand year reign. The saints have no "golden days" to look forward to; they remain "few and despised" in the world, and the world and its princes will not come trooping to the city of Sion, drawn by her beauty. True, when the dead are raised believers can anticipate having glorified bodies like Christ's, which rouses Bunyan to ecstatic contemplation ("O excellent condition"), and he rejoices that in the world to come the roles of Dives and Lazarus will be reversed. The Lazaruses of the world, the beleaguered saints, whether they have been rich or poor, are destined to sit with Christ to "pass sentence on the ungodly" (MWI,377). But there is no glimmer of hope that the gospel will conquer this present world, no hope of a millennial rule by Christ either in person or spirit.

Bunyan's embracing of millenarian doctrine appears to be a sudden metamorphosis. Before The Holy City in 1665 we have no inkling in his writings that he might be inclining in that direction, but in that year his view of the church militant is drastically changed. His sojourn in gaol, along with countless others, for refusal to attend the state church and cease from unlicensed preaching, did not dampen his ardour for Christ; if anything it strengthened and deepened it, despite periods when his spirits were downcast. Ironically, just when the true church was more closely besieged by her enemies in England, Bunyan no longer saw her as a fortress ringed by the might of the ungodly until relieved by the second coming of Christ "in flaming fire" to judgment. She is now depicted as gloriously triumphant here on earth: the "fire of persecution" merely serves the saints by refining them. The suffering church is "like Esther in the perfuming chamber, but making fit for the presence of the king " (III,431). In this exposition of Rev. 21.10-27,22.1-4, first delivered as a sermon to his fellow prisoners in Bedford Gaol, Bunyan gives an extraordinary vision of

Christ's church, not in retreat nor anxiously expecting her Lord to come to judgment and take his saints to heaven to reign with him, but advancing like a victorious army to conquer the world--not a conquest of arms but a conquest of love. Bunyan is confident the New Jerusalem will be invincible. Purged and renewed, the church will shine in all the splendour of her primitive glory. The sheer beauty of the company of saints living in such holy, joyous communion with their Lord and each other will inevitably draw "an abundance of converts; multitudes...both of Jews and Gentiles, Moors, Tartars, Turks, and those in the utmost parts of the world". They will come willingly because "All things that are good and worth anything shall at this day be found only in the city of God" (III,431-432). Bunyan is careful to draw a distinction between this millennial city and the Parousia: "the descending of this city is not the coming of the glorified saints with their Lord; because that even after the descending, yea and the building of this city, there shall be sinners converted to God " (III,403). The setting up of the New Jerusalem is quite different from the second coming in judgment because in the latter case "at the coming of the Lord Jesus from, heaven with his saints...the door [of grace] shall be shut " (III,403). In the former case, far from being shut, the gates of the millennial city will be ever open, ready to welcome new converts.

The interpretation of the apocalypse, as we have seen, engaged some of the best minds of the age, and for someone "low, contemptible and inconsiderable" to embark on it was to invite the scorn and censure of educated men. Bunyan takes cognizance of this in the second of his four prefaces addressed "To the Wise and Learned Reader", perhaps in an attempt to allay some of it by justifying his ministry. However "excellent and high the matter" and "weak and low" the author, Bunyan treads this territory confident that he is "well furnished with the words of God...the Bible" and, indeed, his previous treatises bear this out. Acknowledging the many who have "handled these matters before me" (III,388) in no way dissuades him from studying and sharing his own insights into the apocalyptic scriptures. He will not be deterred from "drinking water out of [his own] cistern" because "what God makes mine by the evidence of his Word and Spirit, that I dare make bold with " (III,398). Thus he rests his trust, not in himself as a chosen vessel of grace, but in the power of God's Holy Spirit to enlighten the earnest seeker after his truth in the Bible. Fully conscious that there are many divergent opinions about the millennium Bunyan does not consider his own exegesis infallible, although he believes that he is largely right. He is especially concerned in this work to refute those who think that the millennial church will be blessed with material prosperity--he himself, like Erbery, concludes quite the opposite. He takes issue, too, with those like the Fifth Monarchists who believe that the city of God will not be built until Christ returns in person, giving as his opinion the conclusion he has not changed since writing Some Gospel-truths Opened(1656) that "when he comes there shall be no tarrying here."

As he conflates Ezekiel's vision of the rebuilt Jewish temple with John's vision of the descent of the holy city, Bunyan's millenarianism presents a progressive, optimistic future for mankind. His interpretation is at once spiritual and material, despite his rebuke to those who too fondly anticipate their blessings to be of the latter kind. The injustice of his imprisonment does drive his spirits to a low ebb from time to time, but this treatise is not clouded by threats of retribution on the ungodly, for it will be of their own volition that they "will shrink and creep into holes like the locusts and frogs of the hedges... " (III,406). during the holy age to come. This prophecy of a brighter and better day for all mankind in the not too distant future is directed first, of course, to all the persecuted saints who already understand the nature of both God's love and justice. They are the heirs of the "altar-men", those doughty saints of the past, "worthy Wickliff, Huss, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and the blessed martyrs in Queen Mary's day" who in their various ways "shook off those relics of Antichrist that intrenched upon the priestly office of our Lord and Saviour " (III,429). With these and with all members of the true church which has endured, guarded by God's special Providence, even during the long captivity under the Roman Antichrist, the present generation of saints is at one. But that fresh light and truth continually break forth from the scriptures is axiomatic in seventeenth-century Protestant thought, and this makes the present generation a privileged people:

> Huss, Bilney, Ridley, Hooper, Cranmer, with their brethren, if they were now in the world, would cry out and say Our light and knowledge of the word of the Testament of Christ was much inferior to the light that at this day is broken forth, and that will yet daily, in despite of men and devils, display its rays and beams amongst the sons of men. (III,438)

Bunyan goes on to predict that when the New Jerusalem is set up biblical prophecies "shall be opened, and men shall consider it perfectly." The seventeenth-century commonplace that the Bible is progressively revealed to men is often insufficiently regarded nowadays, many commentators ascribing to Puritans and nonconformists generally a fundamentalist view of scripture that was not formulated until the nineteenth century. James Barr draws attention to the seventeenth-century divines who framed the Westminster Confession and says that they, "accepted multiple reasons for the conviction of divine authority, the most important, however, being the inner witness of the Holy Spirit"[25]: they took the position that the Hebrew and Greek texts were not only "immediately inspired by God" but also "by his singular care and providence kept pure in all ages." It was this historic approach to the Bible that enabled Calvin and Luther to take "minor errors and discrepancies between parallel texts"[26] in their stride. Bunyan's view, therefore, of scriptural revelation being progressive is not in the least extraordinary; he is merely accepting the current thought. Nevertheless, it has obviously been largely instrumental in shaping his historical outlook on the church and the millennium.

The church Bunyan longs to see is one where denominational differences are obliterated. The congregations he himself served insisted only on a minimum of confessed belief for church membership: faith in Christ and a holy life are the criteria. The Church Book makes it clear that the latter stricture was no light matter, and it was incumbent on the elders to reprimand behaviour they considered scandalous. Even so, the Bedford congregation must have had much to do with Bunyan's rare and, for the times, daring ecumenical spirit. And this spirit of unity facilitates Bunyan's seeing himself and all present day saints as the natural successors of the Reformers. Not that this has come about as the result of any virtue in themselves, but only because they have the privilege of being given "further light". He feels strongly that "gathered churches" like his own are the scriptural norm and reflect the practice of the primitive church:

> These be they that are having the church a select company of visible believers, walking in the faith and holiness of the gospel, which believers are for separating from the unconverted and open profane, and for building up one another an holy temple in the Lord, through the Spirit. (III,429)

So we note that not only the unity, but the purity of Christ's church is close to Bunyan's heart. He shares the view of most of his Protestant confreres that the Reformation itself has gone some way towards the overthrow of Antichrist, which he, too, sees as the "Romish beast". The true church is thus gradually being freed from her long captivity "in Babylon". The spirit of Antichrist, nevertheless, is still abroad, and Bunyan unhesitatingly ascribes the divisions and doctrinal differences among Christians to this malign influence which "hath brought in all these crossings, bye lanes, and odd nooks, that to this day many a heart doth greatly lose itself in " (III,437). His own refusal to be bound by a rigid hierarchic church order had, after all, meant years of weary imprisonment and, like any other prisoner, he reflects on the causes of his being there. His conclusions about the nature of the true church vindicate his decision to stay outside the established church. But his own ideas on the ideal church government draw him into conflict not only with the state but also with his fellow believers. He was continually at odds with the strict communion Baptists whom he respected and even loved, if we consider how warmly he writes of William Kiffin whose teachings in many ways are akin to his own. Bunyan thoroughly opposes the doctrines of Quakers and Ranters, as well as the practices of Anglicans, although he is well aware, as we see when he challenges Edward Fowler, that the Thirty-Nine Articles are doctrinally sound. He is also well aware that there are "gracious men" in other denominations, and that there are "in the hearts of the godly, different persuasions about [baptism] " (II,611). Nevertheless, he rejoices to think that a mark of the millennial church will be unity: by placing themselves fully under the benign influence of the Holy Spirit Christians will be "made to savour one thing, and to walk in one way, not biting and devouring each other as now " (III,437).

In the light of this lively hope, Bunyan's later vehemence in defending the open communion of the Bedford Meeting and sister churches who freely admitted those professing the Christian faith and living upright lives without any difference being made for paedo or adult baptismal beliefs becomes comprehensible. His firm stand on baptism does not stem from his millenarianism, but it is undoubtedly strengthened by it. In the treatises A Confession of my Faith and a Reason of my Practice (1672), Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism no Bar to Communion (1673) and Peaceable Principles and True (1674) he challenges the practices of the respected Baptist preachers Thomas Paul, William Kiffin, Henry D'anvers, and John Denne. He asserts that he has deliberately held back from publicly censuring these "rigid brethren" for as long as sixteen or eighteen years, until their "continual assaults" to convince him and members of his congregations of the rightness of the closed communion way grew to be a threat that had to be openly combatted (II,618). It is easy to understand how Bunyan's beliefs outraged more orthodox Baptists. He accepts "water baptism and the supper of the Lord" but finds they are "not the fundamentals of our Christianity, nor grounds or rule to communion with saints: servants they are, and our mystical ministers " (II,604). The brazier-turned-preacher points out that differences over these matters have plagued the church for centuries: communion practices were "made an engine in the hand of the Papists to burn, starve, hang and draw thousands" while John of Leyden's "abuse of the ordinance of water baptism" was equally reprehensible. He stoutly reiterates the New Testament principle that it is "love not baptism that discovereth us to the world to be Christ's disciples" (II,612). Bunyan here is close to William Dell who had written two decades earlier: "When in many inconsiderable points of religion we cannot agree with many that are truly faithful, nor they with us, let us according to Paul's rule leave the final judgement of these things to the due time appointed by God."[27]

Sincere as Bunyan's sentiment was, it availed nothing with his Baptist colleagues who held closed communion principles, and the Bedford preacher was pained to find himself accused of being "a machivilian, a man devilish, proud, insolent, presumptuous, and the like " (II,617). John Denne in his rebuttal of Bunyan goes to great lengths to prove the latter's opinions are due to his "blindness; or at least his crafty endeavour to insinuate his own opinions" and recommends "John Bunyan and his Doctrine ought to be exploded, as a detected Gangrene increasing into more ungodliness."[28] This invective provides a glaring contrast to Bunyan's own moderate words. But if all this were not enough, Bunyan's very competence to give a judgment on the matter is called into question by his opponents. He is referred to as a man of "THAT rank" which he takes to be yet another mention of his "low descent among men," implying, of course, his unsuitability to be a minister of the gospel (II,617). Happily in the course of this dispute he comes across the published views of the distinguished scholar and Baptist minister, Henry Jessey, whose judgment on the matter concurs with his own and he quotes it at the end of Differences about Water Baptism with obvious satisfaction. Even the "sober Dr. Owen", an Independent of some standing, had, at one stage, been prepared to throw the weight of his scholarly authority behind Bunyan on the baptism question, until, apparently, dissuaded by the eminent Baptist preachers (II,649). Bunyan actually leans towards "Spirit baptism": he holds that when St. Paul speaks of "one Lord, one faith, one baptism" he means that it is through the baptism of the Holy Spirit that men are made part of the body of Christ, as is made explicit in I Cor. XII,13, "For by one spirit we are all baptised into one body." Here perhaps the influence of William Dell, rector of Yelden, near Bedford and one time Master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge is apparent. Dell was censured by Joseph Sedgewick in 1653 for having "rusht into the pulpit with a crowd of Mechanicks."[29] He was later taken to task by his Yelden congregation for giving John Bunyan the opportunity to preach from his pulpit on Christmas Day 1659. Dell's views on baptism are similar to Bunyan's: "the apostle teaches us how God saves, and that it is not by John's baptism or waterwashing, but by the laver of regeneration which is the renewing of the Holy Spirit, poured on us abundantly Through Christ".[30]

Bunyan's hope that one day all Christians would put aside denominational labels and scorn any other name but "Christian" was a life-long one. His friend, J. Wilson, says of his catholicity:

> He was a true lover of all that love our Lord Jesus and did often bewail the different and distinguishing appellations that are among the godly, saying he did believe a time would come when they should all be buried.31

In 1665 he believes such a time is "very near", and while he wants the saints to recognise (as he does) how far they are removed from Antichrist, he warns them, too, how much travail lies ahead before the Holy City is finally rebuilt and refurbished (III,408). He is convinced that at the "time of the end" (and he is not here speaking of the second coming but the end of the church's captivity to Satanic wiles) there will be an outpouring of the Holy Spirit akin to that recorded by the primitive church which will kindle a "oneness of judgment and understanding in the hearts of all saints; they shall be now no more two but one in the Lord " (III,409). And at that time there will be enough truly godly ministers to preach the gospel in its primitive purity:

> It shall not be then as now, a Popish doctrine, a Quaker's doctrine, a prelatical doctrine, and the Presbyter, Independent, and Anabaptist, thus distinguished, and thus confounding and destroying. But the doctrine shall be one... (III,419)

This one doctrine, based on the Bible soundly interpreted will be the sole doctrine to be preached throughout the world, for "God hath a people in every corner of the world" (III,416). World-wide evangelization is necessary to gather the "great harvest of sinners":

> But the truth is, the Scriptures go with open arms towards the latter end of the world, even if they would grasp and compass about almost all the people then upon the face of the whole earth with the grace and mercy of God.(III,443)

"Wicked and erroneous" doctrine will be absent in these millennial days, but the saints will still have some troubles to contend with. Since the human heart is irrevocably inclined to evil, "there will remain in us still the remainder of our corruptions " (III,426). Satan's binding at the beginning of the thousand years certainly means that persecution will cease, and without demonic temptation "the church will be free from those hellish suggestions to blaspheme,to despair and the like... " (III,426). "Remainder of our corruptions" notwithstanding, Christians will find it easier to do the good they would rather than the evil they would not because they no longer will have to contend with "strong corruptions and weak grace"; now they will enjoy "strong grace and weak, withered corruptions" (III,438). Although spiritual blessings will abound, Bunyan is certain that even in this millennial age the unsaved will lurk yet among the saved, claiming, "it is not possible that any church should be so infallible to judge in that manner of the elect, as to discern them always and altogether, from the non-elect" and at the day of the Lord--his second coming to judgment--"foolish virgins will be found " (III,449). Even so, the outlook ~~is~~ idyllic: the church is destined to be "a blessing and happiness...to the whole world " (III,403). No longer will she be "in the mind and thought of the people as the white of an egg in the mouth, without taste, but shall be...brightness, sweetness, and grace " (III,428). These important millennial themes will be seen to recur in The Holy War (1682) and in the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress (1684).

The beauty of the Holy City and the untrammelled preaching of the pure gospel will attract multitudes of converts from all corners of the globe. Not least among them will be the Jews: "those poor distressed creatures that are scattered abroad" will respond en masse to the good news and return to "seek the Lord their God and David their king" in the Holy City (III,413). Most seventeenth-century millenarians forecast an ingathering of the Jewish people, but there is disagreement as to the extent of their conversion and whether or not it includes an actual return to the land of Palestine and the setting up of a Jewish state. As early as 1610 an anonymous pamphlet pleading for Edras to be considered a canonical book also prophesizes the burning of Rome--Israel thereafter being restored to her national territory. Many who write about the millennium, including Brightman, predict just such a literal return of the Jews to Palestine after they embrace Christ. Inevitably, dates were set for their conversion: John Archer, for instance, expected it to happen in 1656. But Henry Danvers, who in 1672 was still predicting an actual millennium when there would be "no government in the hands of any, but Saints, and the Nations all in perfect subjection,"[32] takes a more orthodox Protestant position with regard to the Jews. He equates the true Church with the true Israelites and thinks that "in those great conversions that will be effected in the day of the Lord, amongst Jews and Gentiles, all Israel viz the whole body of the Elect, the whole seed of Abraham spiritual shall be saved, which is true only in that sence, for all Israel in a natural sence."[33] It is interesting that Danvers, in this instance also, is to be found in the opposing camp to that of Bunyan; the latter's ideas about the fate of the Jews accords with the more common millenarian one, in which even today, the fate of the Jewish nation is tied into the millennium in a special way. He does not see Jewish Christians being simply part of the elect, as Danvers and most mainline denomination Protestants would affirm. Bunyan, like George Herbert earlier, sees the Jews as having a special destiny when, enlightened and reconciled within the new Jerusalem, they will be "comforted in the latter days." He shares St. Paul's anticipation that the Jewish people are destined for a magnificent future: they "shall have a great name and much of heaven upon them in this city. For indeed they are the first-born, the natural branches... "(III,447). Gospel love and unity between Jew and Christian will be the order of the day for "both to become a righteous nation " (III,415). In the "golden days" Jew and Gentile will not only meet together in the closest fellowship but will have something to give each other, they "shall mutually be partakers of each other's glory " (III,448).

As always Bunyan disdains the mere "outward glory" which he takes as meaning material rewards, and if momentarily his New Jerusalem seems to be a natural Eden when he speaks about "all the pretty robins and little birds in the Lord's field most sweetly send forth their pleasant notes, and all the flowers and herbs of his garden spring", he specifically cautions against the expectation of "honour and glory" being anything other than "the spiritual and heavenly things of this city" (III,448). The saints will, in any event, have the desire to rise above the earthly glory for "it shall be with them as silver and wood was in the days of Solomon, even as little worth as the stones in the street "(III,448). More than once in this treatise he expounds (as he does elsewhere too) on how "similitudes" may be profitably used to illumine doctrine, and shows how the Bible itself abounds in allegory:

> ...though the Holy Ghost is thus pleased to speak of the portions of the saints in the New Jerusalem, as if he intended chiefly that their portion should consist in outward happiness, and the enjoyment of such and such a portion or compass of ground: yet consider that these are but metaphorical and borrowed expressions spoken to our capacities, under which is indeed included the nature of our blessed spiritual food and nourishment. (III,424)

So when Bunyan speaks of the church advancing a step at a time to "conquer the world" and yet being "satisfied with what is her own" the reader is clearly meant to understand that the church's desires are entirely spiritual and heavenly; anything material is of so much less importance. She is to have "a complete conquest and victory over all her enemies, she shall reign over them," (III,402) and none shall "dare to hold a hand against her, no, not for a thousand years " (III,407). Yet the use of compulsion has no place in the scheme of things, for the end is to "set the whole world on a flame with love and delight in the things of God "(III,432). In that case, all present authority has nothing to fear from her regaining her primitive splendour:

> As she descends, she meddleth not with any man's matters but her own; she comes all along by the King's highway; that is, alone by the rules that her Lord hath prescribed for her in his testament. The governors of this world need not at all to fear a disturbance from her, or a diminishing of ought they have. She will not meddle with their fields nor vineyards, neither will she drink of the water of their wells: only let her go by the King's highway, and she will not turn to the right hand or to the left, until she hath passed all their borders. It is a false report then that the governors of the nations have received against the city, this new Jerusalem, if they believe, that according to the tale that is told them, she is and hath been of old a rebellious city and destructive to kings, and a diminisher of their revenues. I say, these things are lying words.... It is true, the kings and nations of this world shall one day bring their glory and honour to this city; but yet not by outward force or compulsion; none shall constrain them but the love of Christ and the beauty of this city. (III,410)

Bunyan does envisage that future rulers of the earth will be "Jerusalem men", and although it is inevitable that Christ will "not only set up his kingdom in the midst of their kingdoms, as he doth now, but will set it up even upon the top of their kingdoms" (III,403) the use of force is never, for a moment, contemplated. Carnal weapons are not for the saints, although their "gunshot" is more certain and deadly in the end, for it is "the Word and Spirit of God " (III,445). This will draw nations and kings to the New Jerusalem, and the means to take part in the work of the kingdom are in the hands of the lowliest saint, or even the saint confined by sickness or prison, for the power of prayer is at their disposal. Nations and kings will come "heartily" and "unfeignedly", people and princes together "come hand in hand, not the people without their prince, nor the prince without his people" (III,447), and there will ensue a long peace and rest for all humanity, now so weary and tormented. How welcome Bunyan's sermon must have been to the inmates of Bedford Gaol; how welcome his tract to readers accustomed to the violent invective of many millenarians; how appropriate the title! And this vision of the "Holy City" (1665) not only was to provide the framework for his second best known work of prose fiction, The Holy War (1682), but also shape the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress.

Unlike his traditional apocalypticism, Bunyan's millenarianism is a hybrid stemming from some of the prevalent prevalent seventeenth-century notions about the millennium and his own reading of Revelation. Rooted in a generous temperament, fed by association with a remarkably ecumenical (for the times) church group, Bunyan's peaceable, progressive version of how the Holy City was to be established on earth was one that would probably arouse comparatively little attention in a day of unbridled speculation on the subject--most offering more, considerably more, excitement. The Bedford preacher's ideas on baptism as a condition for church membership are liberal, even for the twentieth century, and these, by his own admission, must have preceded the development of his millenarian ideas: however, they clearly are important to the realisation of his vision. His Holy City is dependant upon the Christian church both recognising its unity in Christ and its members living according to New Testament principles. This idealistic millenarianism, apparently arrived at by his own careful biblical exegesis, clearly offered an optimistic spiritual future for the church, but one that could hardly be seen as a rallying cry for the more hotheaded, politically oriented saints. Like many earlier brands of millenarianism Bunyan's version is one that served more to stabilise than undermine the political status quo, and it proved to be only too compatible with the general growing idea of secular progress.

Chapter 4

"Altar-work and temple-work": Bunyan's Doctrinal Stance

Throughout his ministry Bunyan preached and wrote of Christ's second coming to judge the world in orthodox Christian terms. As an unashamed "fisher of men" he continued to employ the apocalyptic terminology that he had found effective in Some Gospel-Truths Opened (1656) and Some Gospel Truths Vindicated (1657), but he was never guilty of the overuse of "hellfire" imagery to persuade men to "close with Christ". Couched for the most part in sober and restrained language, his warnings, however, are abundantly clear, as he stresses (even while emphasing God's grace), the certainty of that "day of Christ" and of the wages awaiting every individual when "the Lord Jesus comes to raise the Dead" (MWVIII,179). There is need then for "a safe Conduct to Heaven" (MWVIII,176), because the "soul, heaven, and eternity lies at stake" (II,573), and only the elect soul will find "when Christ shall come the second time, then will he save the Body from all those things that at present make it uncapable of the Heavens" (MWVIII,179). Bunyan often elaborates on this theme to hearten the saints: "at the judgment day, that blessed jubilee, God will take our body, which is originally his, and will deliver it from the bondage of corruption" (I,607); the glorified saints will then reign with Christ. But those who neglect the opportunity to save their souls in the day of grace must be prepared to "look...certainly for an eternal disappointment in the day of God; for it must be; thy lamp will out at the first sound of the trump of God shall make in thine ears; thou canst not hold up at the appearance of the Son of God in his glory; his very looks will be to thy profession as a strong wind is to a blinking candle, and thou shalt be left only to smoke" (II,572).

The calling out of true professors from the mass of humanity, and the building of them up in the faith so that the church may witness to the world is axiomatic Christian belief, and spiritual revivals, seventeenth century or otherwise, are characterized by intense evangelistic activity, whether the movements are millenarian or not. For Bunyan the preacher, evangelism is a necessity; for Bunyan the millenary, evangelism is an even more stringent necessity as a preliminary condition to the establishment of "the Holy City". This "Holy City" for Bunyan, of course, is the era of peace and happiness that will prevail on the earth for a period of time before the actual second coming of Christ to judgment. There must be an increase in the number of faithful pastors, therefore, if the millennial city is to come into being. Just before his release from prison in 1672 Bunyan himself was given the opportunity of participating to a fuller extent in the preaching of the gospel. The Bedford Meeting called him to be their minister on January 21 of that year. Seven weeks after Bunyan's election to this office Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence suspended the Conventicle Act which forbade nonconformist preaching. Bunyan, along with many other dissenters, was set free, and he was soon officially licensed as a Congregational minister. A barn belonging to Josias Ruffhead in Bedford was designated as the meeting place of the congregation which had been without a place to worship since St. John's Church, granted for their use during the Commonwealth, had been absorbed back into the national church at the Restoration in 1660. The site originally occupied by the barn has housed the Bunyan Meeting down to the present.[1] Having posited his millennial vision in The Holy City (1665), the author must have looked upon the radically changed political circumstances as a giant step towards its realization--the future leading inexorably towards it. Christian unity being a fundamental pre-requisite to the building of the Holy City, it is to be supposed that Bunyan's millennial hopes, bolstered by the new freedoms accorded dissenters, may have added impetus to the rebukes he dealt the closed communion Baptists in the four treatises published between 1671-74. These were hopes that remained unchanged during his life-time, and he continued to emphasize the pure doctrine and behaviour that should naturally be the hallmark of committed Christians, as the highroad to Christian unity and the longed-for millennium. In his published works he urges the saints of his day to press forward and enter into the heritage won for them by the Reformers and martyrs. Antichrist, mainly represented by the Roman Catholic Church, (although Bunyan propounds anything savouring of antiChristian doctrine originates in a Satanic source) is gradually being overthrown, and his end is as inevitable as Christ's second coming. Yet, even as Bunyan looks forward to this with the keenest joy, the backslidden state of the church in England leads eventually to his voicing some stronger reservations about the uninterrupted progress towards the Holy City than he had done in his treatise of that title. In Antichrist and His Ruin (1692) he advises believers to be on their guard, for the path to the Holy City is not as smooth as he had initially envisaged it in 1665; sin and a storm of persecution may so severely decimate the church before the age of gold is reached that the true church will scarcely be discerned, yet, despite these forebodings, his millennial hopes for the most part remain buoyant: his confidence that the Holy City will be built on earth is unshaken. It is an optimism clearly discerned in both The Holy War (1682) and Part II of The Pilgrim's Progress (1684)

It is difficult to assess how much Bunyan's treatise, A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification (1672), owes to these millennial hopes. Directed against the latitudinarian Edward Fowler to whose views expressed in Design of Christianity (1671) Bunyan took strong exception, it follows many of Bunyan's works in being a stout defence of the historic idea of the person of Jesus Christ. His first writings, as we have seen, are of the same ilk, and this presumably long before he had developed any millenarian views of his own. It is certain that even if Bunyan had never entertained any millennial thoughts at all, he would have championed the major Protestant doctrines with all his heart: his own testimony in Grace Abounding (1666), besides other works, affirms the power of the risen Christ in his life. Even so, he would have diverged completely from Luther, Calvin and other reformers in what they would have considered important ways. One only has to recall their stringent views on church government to know that Bunyan's "gathered church" would not have met with their approval, and to remember that Calvin concurred in the burning of Servetus for, among other things, the Spanish doctor's beliefs on baptism,[2] is to know that the Genevan reformer would not have countenanced Bunyan's acceptance of the practice of "believers' baptism". Calvin was scathing, too, regarding the "Chiliasts". He assailed the notion of a millennium, as a "fiction [that] is too puerile to need or deserve refutation."[3] Luther entertained beliefs about the periodization of church history, seeing the church age as having started with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, being in captivity to the Roman Antichrist from about 606 A.D., and restored by the renewed preaching of true doctrine in his own time, but he felt this renewed outpouring of the Holy Spirit presaged the Parousia, not a millennium.[4] The spreading abroad of pure Christian doctrine, however, for Bunyan is integral to the setting up of the millennial kingdom, as his later prose fiction, The Holy War (1682), Part II of The Pilgrim's Progress, and other millenarian works amply demonstrate. So it would probably be safe to say that his millenarian ideas serve to reinforce the already strong orthodox doctrinal views he possessed and eagerly defended. This avid concern for orthodoxy allows Bunyan to scornfully dismiss Fowler's book: "Your book, Sir, is began in ignorance, managed with error, and ended with blasphemy" (II,332). It is noteworthy that the author of _I will pray with the Spirit_ (?1662), in castigating Fowler's views, here speaks approvingly of the Thirty-Nine Articles of the established church as "the wholesome doctrine of the church of England" (II,280). His earlier attack on its tradition and practices does not obscure, for him, the soundness of its orthodox Protestant theology. Here and elsewhere Bunyan is never prepared to allow a watered-down version of Christian truth to lure the unsuspecting soul into by-paths. Even in those treatises where he most lovingly encourages the greatest of sinners--"the Jerusalem sinner" to "taste and see if the Lord is good" he is still unremitting in his efforts to declare "the whole counsel of God." Bunyan thus has no hesitation in attacking Fowler's _Design of Christianity_ which had, in any case, run into considerable opposition before the imprisoned Bedford preacher even had a chance read it.

In the fall of 1671 Fowler is to be found trying hard to counter such opposition by aligning himself with no less a person than Richard Baxter whose orthodoxy was unimpeachable. An exchange of letters between the two reveals the former's petulance and arrogance towards his critics (and even towards Baxter himself) and the latter's astute wisdom and patience, in dealing both with sectarians and Fowler. Fowler asserts confidently " I conceive of having written nothing that can induce a candid and ingenuous mind to judg my sense concerning this matter to be in the least different from that you have expressed",[5] and he voices his indignation with the "unknown impertinent person" who had the effrontery to accuse Fowler (as Bunyan was to do within the space of the next few months) "of crying up Holinesse as the onely design of Christianity".[6] Fowler goes on to aver that he made it clear that he meant his work to convey holiness as "the Ultimate Design of Christianity".[7] Baxter's charitable and sagacious reply is carefully worded so as not to offend, but he urges Fowler to have a more loving spirit towards his fellow Christians--including those deemed "ignorant". Baxter is sure that critical sectarians will "mellow", and besides it is obvious "Knocking men on the head will not make him wise"[8] Speaking under the guise of his own hard experience with such "ignorant" critics, he confesses, "But I look about me, and saw no better people in the world than serious diligent Christians who desire to please God, but through ignorance and ill-teaching and some remmants of pride are guilty of such weaknesses, [i.e. voicing ignorant opposition] except those few antient experienced persons among them who are grown to a greater degree of knowledge and Love"[9]

Baxter's counsel had little effect on Fowler: the response to Bunyan's A Defence of Justification (1672) was anything but meek.[10] The very title of the work is indicative of its spirit, A Manifest Discovery of the Gross Ignorance...of One John Bunyan (1673), and although the author purports to be not Fowler himself but his curate, the consensus appears to be that Fowler's hand was in it.[11] In all fairness it must be conceded that Bunyan does not mince words about what he calls "an insufferable affront upon the Son of God" (II,300), and he accuses his adversary of making "muddy the way of the gospel" (II,314) as thoroughly as any Socinian or Quaker might have done, through Fowler's reducing the stature of Christ: "the Lord of life and glory, instead of a saviour, by his blood, [becomes] the instructor, and schoolmaster only of human nature, a chacer away of evil affections, and an extinguisher of burning lusts" (II,312). In this defence of justification by faith Bunyan is as sturdy as Luther. Fears of people like Baxter that dogmatic reliance on this doctrine in the end leads to antinomianism prove unfounded in Bunyan's case, and this central Protestant premise continues to inform all of the Bedford preacher's treatises and major prose fictions, just as it had his autobiography and earlier works. The fearful result of erroneous doctrine taking hold in the church looms large in Bunyan's thought, for he considers materialism coupled with false doctrine had allowed the Roman Antichrist to keep the true church in his dungeon "above a thousand years." From first to last he seeks to prevent the dissemination of theological error, scorning the niceties of language that might obscure the issues. Well might John Gibbs, in commending his protege's treatise A Few Sighs From Hell (1658), warn the prospective reader not to be "offended" at his plain and downright language, it is for the discharge of the author's conscience, and thy profit..."(MWI,242).

Bunyan's theology was suspect to Fowler, and even Richard Baxter feared it to a degree, but the Bedford preacher also had eminent scholars who accepted and applauded his stance. In Differences About Water Baptism no Bar to Communion (1673) the author refers (as we have seen) to "the sober Dr. Owen" (and he might well had added "learned") and indicates that the well respected Independent minister had been going to write a preface to the work, had he not been dissuaded by the closed communion Baptist ministers. Henry Jessey, again no mean scholar, held theological views very similar to those of Bunyan; Jessey's emphasis on preaching justification by faith in Christ alone led Baxter to suspect him, too, of antinomian leanings. Bunyan's friendship with William Dell, George Cokayn, John Simpson and other university trained ministers has been alluded to above; undoubtedly there were differences now and then, but not in matters of substance. Bunyan's treatises dealing with his differences with the Baptists are frank, but they have quite a different tone from the one he adopts with Fowler. They are his fellow believers still, and this fact moderates his language; he does not resort to the harshness reserved for those he feels are undermining major Protestant doctrine: Quakers, Ranters, Freewillers, and Latitudinarians. And while he admittedly inveighs against these wolves in sheep's clothing, his language still falls short of the usual seventeenth-century polemic.

Bunyan's work Light for Them that Sit in Darkness (1675), however, does suggest those "Persons that have forsaken the Lord Jesus, that have despised his Person trampled upon him, and counted the Blood of the Covenant, wherewith he was Sanctified, an Unholy thing!" (MWVIII,50) are actually committing the unforgivable sin, "That FEARFUL Transgression" against the Holy Ghost (MWVIII,50), and because they paint their sin until it is "beautified with colour" it becomes accordingly more of a snare to the unwary and uniformed. Their end with Satan is destined to be "fearful Judgment, and fiery Indignation (MWVIII, 30). However, what he mainly deals with in this treatise once again is Reformed doctrine, and two of the points he makes must be noted and held in mind with reference to the use he puts them to later in his millenarian prose fiction work, The Holy War (1682). The first is the generally accepted Protestant understanding that the Israel of the Bible is not only "the whole stock of Jacob" but also "all those promised to Christ" in the Old Testament, which includes Adam, Enoch, Noah, and the patriarchs--these are "all the Types and shadows of the Saviour...virtually so many Promises." (MWVIII,60) But in addition to this, Israel designates Christ's church of the New Covenant. The second point to be noted is that although the author is dealing here with Christ's threefold office as prophet, priest, and king, he does put a certain amount of emphasis on Christ's "Office of a King, by which he ruleth in the Church, and over all things for her sake" (MWVII,120), and later in The Holy War (1682) he allegorically portrays Prince Emmanuel as the ruler of Mansoul.

Hierarchy for Bunyan is part of the divine order for the universe; the Trinity itself is hierarchical, and, therefore, to be admired and emulated by the lesser creation. Any suggestion that Bunyan's millennial opinions might be subversive to state, king, aristocracy, or magistracy should be set alongside the frequent references in his works describing or implying the essential rightness of hierarchical arrangements in society (church and family included), and this in addition to his own many and direct denials of any intent to undermine lawfully constituted authority. Earlier, Bunyan's third prison book, Christian Behaviour (1663), logically deriving from his previous works on Christian doctrine, gives proof if need be, of his willingness, albeit under duress, to suffer himself under lawfully constituted authority. It shows him to be no antinomian in the derogatory sense of the word. Right doctrine must result in right behaviour. Reflecting the divine hierarchy, the domestic hierarchy affords everyone an allotted place and each individual must value the given niche and behave accordingly. The father is the head of the household and must rule his family, not be ruled by them, but his behaviour must necessarily be commensurate with New

Testament love: he must take the lead, as Christ did, in demonstrating a spirit of love and service. His wife is his deputy, "master next to her husband, and is to rule all in his absence" (II,561), and Bunyan stresses that she is a helpmeet, not a slave. Children and servants alike have their places, and their responsibilities and privileges are detailed. Bunyan, like Luther, looks for Christian professors to be organized in well-ordered family units, working and worshipping together in harmony. A lack of harmony in the home characterises Mr. Badman (1680), just as the second part of Pilgrim's Progress (1684) depicts precisely the opposite in the setting up of new homes with Christian love and discipline at the core.

Hierarchy is once more held up as the Christian norm in Bunyan's catechism Instruction for the Ignorant (1675), and since it is aimed primarily at the young there is again mention of the necessity for obedience to parents (MWVIII,13). This exposition of basic Christian beliefs is similar to many others published in the seventeenth century, but in its organization Richard Greaves observes it to be "equal or better than nearly all others examined."[12] Written while Bunyan was absent from the Bedford congregation, either in prison or in hiding, the author assures the church he has been "driven from [them] in presence, not affection." He offers this little book as "wholsom Medicine...to all those unconverted, old and young, who have been at any time under my Preaching, and yet remain in their sins."[13] The "second Coming" is given its due emphasis as a certain event in the future, something that the saints ought to long and pray for: they "would fain see him on this side the Clouds of Heaven, their Conversation is in Heaven from whence they look for the Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ"(MWVIII,34), but there is no specific mention of the Holy City being something the saints can anticipate here on earth. Bunyan's homely illustrations are well suited to a younger audience, and, on the whole, his tone is gentle. The Strait Gate (1675) as the title would imply, calls for a sterner tone, and it is, in fact, sharper than usual. He claims there is nothing in this work "controverted among the godly" (I,363), but for those souls who "strive" to enter the narrow gate in order to gain "eternal glory" the way is far from easy, for "the world...have devised all manner of cruel torments to make us submit, as slaying with the sword, stoning, sawing asunder, flames, wild beasts, banishments, hunger, and a thousand miseries"(I,370). For Bunyan, again imperilled after only three short years of freedom, the vision of the Holy City has somewhat receded, yet he remains sure "they must conquer us or we must conquer them" (I,370). And he does not seriously entertain the first possibility. The word "conquer" has the natural connotation of violence; the saints, as Bunyan so grimly points out, have over the centuries been subjected to a great deal of it. But in their "conquest" of the world they are not allowed the use of worldly weapons. Bunyan reiterates time and time again "the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through

God" (I,370). With the godly facing yet another period of persecution, himself a fugitive with a writ for his arrest hanging over his head, and just ten years after his glowing depiction of the Holy City, Bunyan might have been forgiven if he had chosen here to rebuke a society that hounded the innocent, stripping them of goods, or freedom, or both. Although he is as certain as any Old Testament prophet that those who perpetrate such crimes against God's people will come under the judgments of God, his real concern is the welfare of the church. He repeatedly warns the godly here and in practically every treatise he publishes, that it is their own lack of zeal in spiritual matters that precipitates these repeated crises for the church. As Bunyan looks back on history he finds that, compared with former times, the present generation of godly people, "the swarms of our prayerless professors," neglect the very thing that is both the defensive and offensive weapon against their sea of troubles.[14]

> As we should strive for, and by faith, so we should strive by prayer, by fervent and effectual prayer. Re. xv.30 O the swarms of our prayerless professors! What do they think of themselves? Surely the gate of heaven was heretofore as wide as in these our days; but what striving by prayer was there then among Christians for the thing that gives admittance into this kingdom, over [what] there is in these latter days! (I,369)

The following year, in a somewhat quieter political situation Bunyan again returns to his best-loved theme, that of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ in

Saved by Grace (1676). He uses the opportunity to hammer away at the teaching of those who think it possible to be reconciled to a holy and just God by any other means except what God himself ordains in Christ's sacrifice of himself on Calvary: "if it be his Will, that Men should be saved by Grace, then to think of another way is against the Will of God (MWVIII,213). Later, in A Treatise on the Fear of God (1679), Bunyan exhorts the saints to edify each other in their church fellowship and urges a greater reverence for the Bible as the word of God. At the same time he proclaims, as is his wont, the prior necessity of conversion: "a heart from God, a heart from heaven, a new heart" must be obtained, otherwise a proper fear of God is impossible. It follows that only the saints may know godly fear. It is a "grace" to be "bestowed upon the elect, the heirs and children of the promise, all others are destitute of it, and so continue to death and the Judgment" (MWIX,52). But the day of grace is still with men; repentant sinners may still be reconciled with God. The previous year had seen the publication of one of Bunyan's most appealing and tender treatises, Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ (1678), which assures any sinner that his inner promptings towards Christ are sufficient indication to proceed without any fear of rejection. Richard Greaves comments, "Virtually any interested reader could find encouragement in the sermon to regard himself as one of the elect who were coming to Christ."[15] A few months earlier, in dealing allegorically with the actual process of conversion and sanctification in Pilgrim's Progress (1678), Bunyan had taken these theological concepts out of the study, out of church buildings, and placed them squarely in the market-place. No longer were they abstractions often difficult to grasp; portrayed as realities they were within the reach of the most diffident and ill-informed person. However, as has been shown, Bunyan was never a preacher who shirked delivering the uncomfortable tenets of the Christian faith. In Mr. Badman (1680) we find the opposite side of the coin as he charts the inevitable downward course of the hardened reprobate. In this proto novel his oft-repeated fears about the wide dissemination of false doctrine with the resulting danger to the nation as a whole finds a forum. England is no longer the "elect nation" but a "sinking nation": she "shakes and totters" because of proliferating unbelief and sin; and Bunyan does not hesitate to remind his readers that "Sin pulled the angels out of heaven" (III,593).

Despite frequent apocalyptic references to the second coming, we still do not find specific mention of a millennium in Bunyan's writing since The Holy City was published in 1665 but, given his post millennialist beliefs, there is certainly nothing in these doctrinal writings that could lead to the supposition that the millennial ideas set forth earlier have changed in the slightest. Indeed, all the doctrine tends to reinforce the urgent necessity of the gospel being preached in its primitive purity and entirety in order to secure the conversion of those outside the church, as well to edify the saints already within it. How else is the Holy City to become a light to all nations? And with the church in such a backslidden state, for Bunyan to dwell on millenarian prospects might well encourage weaker saints to leave the king's highway for Bypath Meadow. Bunyan had found allegory to be a singularly compelling means of recounting the progress of both conversion and reprobation in the Pilgrim's Progress and Mr. Badman respectively, and he again chose that method to depict millenarian hopes in The Holy War (1682). Both church and state were in dire need of encouragement in the 80s. It was a tense decade filled with every kind of fear and uncertainty happily resolved by the Glorious Revolution in 1688 which Bunyan did not live to see. Hindsight may make all the terrors of the decade appear needless, but the outcome could never be gauged in advance. James II, who had succeeded his brother in 1685, had little of the political acumen that Charles II possessed, and was unswerving in his determination to restore England to the Roman Catholic fold. His pious hope that England's Protestants only needed encouragement to revert to Roman Catholicism can be likened to the naive belief of the Fifth Monarchy Men who assumed England would rise with them in 1657 and 1661. The reaction of the little company of believers at the Bedford Church to the bleak prospect of a Roman Catholic king allied to the arch-Catholic Louis XIV, with perhaps another Civil War in the offing, is a typical and touching one. Here Bunyan's oft-rehearsed strictures concerning prayer had not fallen on deaf ears. The Church Book records the following decision arrived at on 12

December, 1681:

> That the first in every month be kept in prayr for to beg God's blessing upon the preaching of the word, ffor the conversion of our children and for the mercie and blessing of God upon the king and governors.16

At this juncture Bunyan's reputation as a preacher and writer had spread far and wide, so it is not surprising to find that his treatise The Greatness of the Soul (1683) is based on a sermon first preached at Pinners' Hall, one of the famous London Dissenters' Meeting Houses, where Merchants' Lectures had been instituted in 1672. Both John Owen and Richard Baxter had preached there, and John Brown supposes it possible that Bunyan may have been invited to take part in an actual lecture series, which would have been a signal honour for the Bedford preacher.17 Be that as it may, Bunyan would have been, in any event, preaching to a large congregation, which may account for this treatise being particularly well-argued. It is significant that with his renewed interest in the millennial city, evidenced by The Holy War (1682), he demonstrates here an acute awareness of contemporary history, not just in England, but in France. With the number of Huguenots settled in London it is, of course, entirely possible some French Protestants were present to hear Bunyan liken "heavenly thoughts" to their refugee status. His penchant for producing striking metaphors must surely have had something to do with the popularity of his sermons! In this instance, as he enlarges on the mysterious work of the Holy Spirit in drawing believers towards Christ by establishing the conviction that the "soul was such an excellent thing," he goes on to ask one of his homely questions:

> But where hadst thou that heart that gives entertainment to these thoughts, these heavenly thoughts? These thoughts are like the French Protestants, banished thence where they willingly would have harbour how came they to thy House, to thy heart, and to find entertainment in thy Soul? the Lord keep them in every imagination of the thoughts of thy heart for ever, and incline thy heart to seek him more and more. (MWIX,235)

Bunyan's many contacts with other congregations as well as his growing reputation as a writer naturally led not only to preaching engagements far afield, but also to his being asked to mediate where difficulties had arisen in aligning church practice with biblical precedent. In one such case some women had approached him about their habit of meeting for prayer without men present, a "Mr. K." having approved their practice and having given many biblical quotations to sustain his opinion. But Bunyan is adamantly set against this kind of gathering and gives his reasons in A Case of Conscience Resolved (1683). He sees a danger to the church in the women meeting together to pray because "to exclude or shut out the men, is a usurping of that authority over them [women] to a high degree" (I,665). Since it was common for Quakers or Ranters to allow women to preach, one can guess that Bunyan was all the more set against women of his own persuasion seeking to elevate their church status. His conviction is strongly held: "Where there is order and government by laws and statutes there must, of necessity be also a distinction of sex, degrees and age" (II,672). It appears that the inferiority of women will even last throughout the millennium, but they may take heart that they are not destined to keep a lower place in eternity:

> Wherefore, my beloved sisters, this inferiority of yours will last but a little while. When the day of God salvation is come, to wit, when our Lord shall descend from heaven, with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God, these distinctions of sexes shall be laid aside.... (II,672)

Bunyan does not blame the women for this disturbance of the natural order. Instead, he lays it at the door of the men, those lukewarm saints who fail to shoulder their responsilities and set good examples: "Morning closet-prayers are now, by most London professors thrown away..."(II,674). He feels a return to normal Christian behaviour by both men and women will bring about the progress towards a millennium he longs to see, and it is worth observing this hopeful note in Bunyan's writing is voiced just after he publishes *The Holy War* in 1682: "When women keep their places, and men manage their worshipping of God as they should, we shall have better days for the church of God in the world" (II,674).

But the next year finds Bunyan still despairing over the moral state of England. In *A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity* (1684) he says, "Love Love is gone out of the Country; Love to the doctrine of the first Table, love to the doctrine of the second Table" (MWIX,283). He is, of course, using the common twofold division of the Ten Commandments--

love towards God and love towards one's fellows. Once again he voices his dismay at the increasing number of false ministers of the gospel and hypocritical saints. Ministers who preach something less than Reformed doctrine evoke the caustic comment that "there is a company of half priests in the world", and his intimate knowledge of human nature emerges as he remarks, "If I were to judge of a man for my life, I would not judge of him by his open profession, but by his Domestick behaviours" (MWIX,322). This echoes what he had said much earlier in Christian Behaviour (1663) and more recently to his "Honoured Sisters" in Case of Conscience Resolved (1683): "Many there be that profess Christ, who doe oftener (in London) frequent the Coffee-house than their Closet; and that sooner in a morning run to make bargains than to pray unto God, and begin the day with him" (MWIX,325). In this work, too, Bunyan is anxious to draw attention to the crying need for Christian unity. The need to abandon arguments over "small matters" is something that must precede the full realization of the Holy City, but it appears that his is a voice crying in the wilderness, for "men are wedded to their own opinions" (MWIX327). His keen sense of church history, so evident in the Holy War (1682), manifests itself here: "Did we but look back to the Puritans, but specially to those that but a little time before them, suffered for the word of God, in the Marian days, we should see another life than is now among men, another manner of conversation, than now is among professors" (MWIX,345).

These observations lay the groundwork for his later prognostication (only adumbrated in The Holy City) that progress towards the New Jerusalem will be interrupted by a period, albeit brief, when the true church will have almost vanished from the face of the earth.

Such an appalling event might well have seemed quite within the bounds of possibility at the time. There were fresh fears among dissenters and, indeed, among the population at large as Charles II and his Parliament remained at loggerheads, and the question of the succession was much under discussion. It had been known since 1673 that James, Duke of York, Charles' heir, had been converted to Catholicism, although as long as James' heir remained his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William Prince of Orange, the English, on the whole, could contemplate his coming reign with some degree of equanimity. It was not until 1688 when it became known that James' second wife, the Catholic Mary of Modena, was expecting another child, and the father boasting of his certainty of a son, that English fears for their Protestantism erupted into decisive action. Earlier, James' predilection for emulating the autocratic Louis XIV, especially in his determination to emancipate his fellow Roman Catholics, must have made Bunyan's Seasonable Counsel or Advice to Sufferers published the year before the Duke of York succeeded to the throne seem more than just timely. In this work Bunyan takes infinite pains to steer his readers away from thoughts of rebellion. He points out that Satan, not evil authorities, is the real culprit if times are hard for Christians; this demonic supernatural being is the true "author of persecution". And it is the devil, too, who "raises rebellions", and Bunyan holds that the only kind of Christian who might be expected to be involved "in raising divisions, distractions and rebellions" would be those whom he so frequently rebukes--"the looser sort of Christians" (II,705). Fearful that these admonitions to the godly to stay clear of any incipient action against the crown, Bunyan more than once makes a point of disclaiming actual knowledge of either plotters or their plans: "I thank God I know of no such" (II,705), and, "I speak not these things, as knowing any that are disaffected to the government; for I love to be alone, if not with godly men..."(II,709). But he observes with his usual blunt commonsense: " my judgment tells me, that if Christians may be drawn into fornication, adultery, murder, theft, blasphemy or the like, as they may; why should it be thought impossible for them to be drawn in here" (II,705). He strongly advises Christians to reverence and obey lawful authority, "kings and governors", and to "let them rather have that fear, that honour, that reverence, that worship, that is due to their place, their office, and dignity" (II,709). There is something that can only be called ingenuous and reminiscent of Tertullian's prayers for the Roman emperors, in his attitude to Charles II:

> For my part, I have ofttimes stood amazed both at the mercy of God, and the favour of the Prince towards us; and can give thanks to God for both: and do make it my

> prayer to God for the king, and that God will help me with meekness and patience to bear whatever shall befall me for my professed subjection to Christ, by men.(II,707)

Bunyan's statements do not preclude his seeing the advantages for nonconformists in separation of church and state. He is not in favour of the ministry mixing with the magistracy: "Nor should a minister strive, I think, with the magistrate for place or time" (II,714). Each has his function and should not compete: "A Minister can quickly pack up, and carry his religion with him, and offer what he knows of his God to another people" (II,714); affliction may be God's way of bringing other souls to himself. The treatise, however, is not directed towards giving political solutions but towards bracing the saints for the real possibility of more severe persecution, should James II, against all odds, be able to turn the clock back and restore England to the see of Rome. Bunyan significantly draws attention to all those Christians who have suffered sudden death for their faith, from John the Baptist to the more recent massacres in Ireland, Paris and Piedmont. Bunyan does not exactly spell out his fears, but they are clearly implied. He demonstrates here both an accurate assessment of James II's character and the gravity of the current political situation as he gives his sad and serious admonitions to the saints.

In view of Bunyan's repeated contention that the spiritual state of the true church is in a parlous condition, it is not surprising to find him assert in his Seasonable Counsel that "persecution [is] brought on by the looseness of

Christian professors" (II,707) and, that being so, the sufferings might actually do the church good in the final analysis rather than harm, by bringing it back to its first warm glow of faith. In this view he echoes Luther. Bunyan says that he has "often thought that the best Christians are found in the worst of times" (II,707) and that "persecution is sent to better God's people" (II,707). He advocates not only non-resistance to persecutors, but also a more active Christian response: turning the other cheek, doing good to the enemy. Foolish and ineffectual advice according to worldly standards, but it cannot be faulted in one who took the Bible as the word of God. The Christian expectation has ever been that good may finally come out of evil. The question Bunyan poses to his readers is, "Do not even such things as are most bitter to the flesh, tend to awaken christians to faith and prayer, to a sight of the emptiness of this world, and the fadingness of the best it yields?" (II,707) A counsel of perfection, indeed, and delivered to a people anxiously anticipating the succession of a Catholic monarch who might be expected to add to their already sore trials as nonconformists and emulate Louis XIV's severe persecutions of Protestants. There is much in this piece of writing that suggests Bunyan has listened to much anguished talk among the godly, and he feels he must reprove those "of an unquiet troublesome spirit" by telling them frankly "To wish the destruction of your enemies doth not become you" (II,738). He himself seems to be possessed of a more sanguine, hopeful spirit, despite the gathering storm. It may well be that the rumours in Bedfordshire about Monmouth's probable rebellion were particularly rife, since Charles II's illegitimate son's mistress lived close by, and apparently was responsible for persuading her lover to embark on the desperate adventure,[17] but that, of course, is pure conjecture. After Monmouth's ill-fated rising in the West of England in 1685, and the arrest of hundreds of peaceable dissenters, including the aged Richard Baxter, Bunyan plainly expected the worst for himself, for it was then he made over all his possessions to his wife, Elizabeth, in a Deed of Gift dated 23 December, 1685.[18]

Having advised and admonished the church as to how they should behave in times of peril, Bunyan sets the example during the rest of that terrifying year by returning soberly to his teaching and preaching. The Pharisee and the Publican (1685) was a favourite seventeenth-century text, dealing as it does with "the nature of prayer" and "of obedience to the law" whereby sinners "clogged with guilt" (II,217) are relieved through Christ's sacrifice. Bunyan expounds the parable in the accepted way, but he also uses the occasion again to make some reference to the hard times the saints are experiencing and to give them some comfort while urging them to a fuller prayer life. He follows his usual habit of first setting his text in the Biblical context, and in making some passing remarks about the previous verses which tell of the unjust judge with the importunate woman he urges the necessity for continual prayer:

> And shall not God avenge his own elect, which cry day and night unto him? I tell you he will avenge them speedily. This is therefore a very comfortable parable to such of the saints, that are under hard usages by reason of evil men, their might and tyranny. For by it we are taught to believe and expect, that God, though for a while he seemeth not to regard, yet will, in due time and season, arise and set such in safety from them that puff at them. (II,217)

Referring to the Pharisee's inward "leprosy" and the Publican's outward "leprosy" Bunyan observes in passing that the Jews "always counted themselves a free people, and could never abide to be in bondage to any" (II,219), and that this accounts for the the popular loathing of the Publican. He is "an officer who served the Romans", Israel's hated conquerors, and Bunyan takes this opportunity to liken them, "so vile and base, and reckoned among the worst of men" to "our informers and bum bailiffs" (II,219). He pursues this analogy by comparing this treacherous renegade Jewish publican to a king who conspires with "a foreign prince to rob the church of God". To say the least this would be a daring (and dangerous) statement if he were hinting at James II's conniving with Louis XIV to bring England back to the Roman fold, but since James had only been on the throne for a few months, it is unlikely Bunyan would have learned enough about his policies to hint at the intrigue. He cautions the saints not to jump to conclusions about what may appear to them as the worst of men: "though we do so judge, we must leave room for the judgment of God. Mercy may receive him we have doomed to hell..."(II,222). Nothing is perhaps more typical of Bunyan than this patient and charitable outlook which springs here, not so much from his own large-mindedness and ecumenical spirit, as from his deep reverence for the sovereignty of God. False doctrine, however, receives the customary condemnation couched in the strongest terms. His tenacious defence of what he perceives as the true teachings of the primitive church, perverted for more than a thousand years by the Roman Antichrist, is rooted in the same sense of godly fear. He attacks "the freewiller...the quaker, the ranter, the socinian" with zest (II,228), demonstrating their inherent affinity with the figure of the Pharisee in seeing no need for justification by faith in Christ. The Pharisee "strokes himself over the head...and calls himself, and that in his presence, one of God's white boys." To Bunyan, with his fear of a holy and just God, nothing could be more blasphemous, yet he finds he can commend this New Testament Pharisee, relying even as the latter did on a ceremonial and superstitious observing of the law, because of his "positive holiness". Bunyan sees this as being sadly lacking in his own day and age: the Pharisee "was better than many of our English Christians, for many of them are so far off from being at all partakers of positive righteousness, that all their ministers, bibles, good books, good sermons, nor yet God's judgments, can persuade them to become so much as negatively holy, that is, to leave off evil" (II,224). Bunyan sees the spiritual state of the saints in England as lagging far behind that of a century ago; such backsliding invites and merits God's judgment through affliction--a loving chastisement meant not simply as punishment but as a means of bringing them back to a closer, more loving relationship with him. Until the godly are more zealous in following the precepts of Christ, millenarian expectations must necessarily be pushed further into the future.

Millenarian expectations do not loom large in the small tract The Seventh-Day Sabbath (1685), although the question of the millennium being considered the seventh "day" of creation, and, therefore, a day of peace and rejoicing for the saints, is dealt with later in Exposition of the First Ten Chapters of Genesis" (1692). In a time of political turmoil Bunyan's plunge here into a theological controversy that had raged for years may appear rather extraordinary, but he took his call to preach the gospel with the utmost earnestness: in good times or bad the shepherd must feed the sheep. This tract is directed to the poorer saints, "such as have but shallow purses, short memories, and but little time to spare" (II,361). Bunyan gives reasons for keeping the first day of the week, Sunday, as the day of Christian worship and rest: there were many who argued for having the seventh day of the week, Saturday, as the "Sabbath". His early mentor, Luther, had favoured the first day of the week as being best to meet the needs of Christians for a regular day of rest and worship. Calvin, to whom any special day set aside for church observance was suspect, favoured daily assemblies of Christians, but in the event that one in seven should be chosen as a day of rest and worship did not set much store by any one in particular, although he did feel that the church, in order that things be done "decently and in order" should appoint one "for the hearing of the word, the administration of the sacraments, and public prayer."[19] With Calvin, Bunyan posits the day set aside for rest and worship as "meet; yea necessary," but, contrary to the Genevan reformer, argues that such a day must be, in fact, "the first day of the week [which] is to be sanctified by the church to Jesus Christ" (II,385), and he justifies this on the grounds that such was the custom in the primitive church. The continuity of church history is vitally important to Bunyan, and the practices of the primitive church have relevance for a church moving towards the regaining of that initial pure spirituality which will characterize the millenarian epoch. Exasperation with the lukewarm professors in the church of his own day compared with earlier, more spiritually-minded, Christians is again evident: "Shall the children of this world be, as to this also, wiser in their generations than the children of light, and former saints, upon whose shoulders we pretend to stand, go beyond us here also" (II,381). Bunyan's "children of light" are not bound by denominational labels, and he chooses here to quote the Anglican clergyman, George Herbert, with approval--a stanza from Herbert's poem "Sunday" serves as an epilogue to his argument. Like Herbert, Bunyan does not disdain the use of verse "to catch him who a sermon flies". His delightful

Book for Boys and Girls (1686) cheers that sad year with its pithy and, for the most part, apt use of emblems to explain points of doctrine. Strong criticism of the formalist false professor is to be expected, and in this work such a one is memorably described as the "youling, bauling, Cuckow", able to sing only one note while preying on more tuneful, industrious birds: "The Formalist we may compare her to,/For he doth suck our Eggs, and sing Cuckow" (MWVI,223). Bunyan has the countryman's unsentimental yet appreciative eye for the natural world, just as he has the countryman's suspicions that the greatest evils lurk in cities--frequent comments about the laxity of London professors make this plain.

Bunyan's insistence that wayward, slack Christians bring the judgments of God, often in the form of persecution, upon the church leads him usually to remonstrate rather than commiserate with the saints when times were hard, and times were undoubtedly hard in the last few years of his life. John Brown has suggested that the gap in his publications between 1686 and 1688 when six treatises appeared may have been due to the severity of measures against nonconformists, and this would seem a logical explanation. Dissenters after Monmouth's rebellion were more severely dealt with than ever, until James II, determined to give his Roman Catholic subjects equal standing with the Church of England, promulgated the far-reaching Declaration of Indulgence in April 1687. Bunyan did not see fit to rush into print under the new order: Good News for the Vilest of Men did not appear until 1688. Like his earlier work Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ (1678), this is a warm-hearted appeal to "sinners of a lusty size"--the "Jerusalem" sinners--to come to Christ: "Great Sinners are like the dry Wood, or like great Candles, which burns best and shines with biggest light" (MWXI,45). The Advocateship of Jesus Christ (1688) is another most attractive treatise, offering as it does, firm reassurance to the saints that "Election is eternal, as God himself" (MWXI,130) and, "our Heavenly Inheritance [is] made good by our Advocate, against the thwartings and branglings of the Devil, nor can our new sins make it invalid, but it abideth safe to us at last, notwithstanding our Weaknesses" (MWXI,185). In his realistic depiction of the sinner before the throne of God, with Christ as his intercessor, Bunyan here casts a backward look to The Holy War (1682) reminding his readers that Christ has another role as head of the church militant and church triumphant: "He is Captain General of all the Forces that God hath in Heaven and Earth, the King and Commander of his People...O the Exaltation of Jesus Christ!" (MWXI,193) If Bunyan deliberately refrained from publishing these treatises it certainly was not because there is anything in them at all that could be remotely construed as subversive, including open millenarianism, but the temper of the times was certainly enough to make any nonconformist preacher wary of catching the eye of the authorities. The spectacle of Richard Baxter in gaol must have had a sobering effect, for if the eminent and well-respected Baxter could be gaoled, no nonconformist was immune from arbitrary arrest.

Three other publications in 1688, however, might well have been brought into question if they had appeared earlier. Even the title of Bunyan's poetical work Discourse of the Building, Nature, Excellency, and Government of the House of God (1688) reminds the reader of both "The Holy City" (1665) and The Holy War (1682). The similarity of its millennial imagery to that of The Holy City is striking:

> Her Fields are fertile, do abound with Corn;
> The Lillies fair, her Valleys do adorn.
> The Birds that do come hither every spring,
> For Birds, they are the very best that Sing.
> Her Friends, her Neighbours too, do call her blest;
> Angels do here go by, turn in and rest.
> (MWVI,158-163)

Millenarian language and thought also mark off The Water of Life (1688), as the author encourages his readers to have done with "the Dead world...them that love to be dead" (III,559) and seek instead the "Spirit of grace" (III,541) by coming to "the waters that the doves love to sit by, because by the clearness of these streams they can see their pretty selves as in a glass" (III,555). Here again an historical perspective is very much to the fore as Bunyan returns to his theme that the present church does not measure up to that of the Reformation. The river of grace "runs not so high now as in former days because of the curse of God upon Antichrist" (III,550). He remains hopeful because "when the tide is at the lowest, then it is nearest the rising" (III,550). It is the long shadow of the Antichrist that holds back the clear vision of God's throne from the longing saints: he "spreadeth a cloud upon it" (III,551). Thus

Bunyan's trust in the future is unimpaired, and he confidently expects more light and truth to break from God's word to the faithful saints: "We must also labour for more clear Scripture knowledge of this throne" (III,551). The same expectation that characterizes The Holy City is shown here. A purified church will attract the world to the New Jerusalem: God's "people in gospel days are not to be diminished, but increased" (III,545), and Bunyan takes another opportunity to link sound doctrine to a happier state for the church, for only then will it be free of "briers and thorns":

> For as the fish of the river receive, by being there, the changeable colours of the waters, so professors, what doctrine they hear and drink, do look like that. If their doctrines are muddy, their notions are muddy; if their doctrines are bloody, their notions and tempers are bloody: but if their doctrines are clear, so are their notions, for their doctrine has given them a clear understanding of things.
> (III,555)

As ever, Bunyan is concerned with the wellbeing of Christ's church. His millenarianism is as peaceable as the Fifth Monarchy Men's is warlike, but the use of Biblical figurative language is always open to other interpretations, especially during an era when the state is actively seeking evidence of sedition and treason.

The more figurative language Bunyan employs, especially from the Old Testament, the more likely it is that those unsympathetic to dissenters would misunderstand his import, and see threats to the state where none is intended.

Solomon's Temple Spiritualized (1688) is an admirable vehicle from the author's point of view to admonish and encourage the saints towards the realization of the New Jerusalem, and although in this treatise Bunyan comes closer than at any time since The Holy City (1665) to an open affirmation of his millenarian beliefs there is little really that might have disturbed the nervous authorities. He shows how the building and appurtenances of Solomon's temple may be "types and shadows" for the New Testament church, full of spiritual significance. As in The Holy City he makes a point of saying specifically that he has not "fished in other men's waters" (III,464) to arrive at his conclusions, that his only references have been his Bible and Concordance. He neither affects a pretence of infallibility, nor underestimates his own ability to read the Bible with close attention, trusting in the Holy Spirit's enlightenment to discern its deeper meanings. He feels he has arrived at a satisfactory interpretation, but says, "I dare not presume to say that I have hit right to every thing" (III,464). In The Holy City he had taken the usual Protestant position that both Old and New Testaments are effectually a single testimony to Christ--old and new churches are essentially one. In this treatise he repeats this in explaining just how the ordinances of the Jewish temple were "figures of things and methods of worship...they show us the more exactly how the New and Old Testament, as to the spiritualness of the worship, was as one and the same; only the old was clouded with shadows, but ours is with more open face" (III,464). For instance, Bunyan likens the twelve brazen oxen that the "molten sea" of the temple stood upon to the apostles, and their standing at the gate of the New Jerusalem "to receive those that by their doctrine should be brought into it" (III,484). This idea is strongly reminiscent of the apostles depicted allegorically as the foundations of the walls of his Holy City. In addition to a description of the millenarian temple, Bunyan alludes to the second coming of Christ to judgment. In speaking of the temple facing east, Bunyan says it is "from the east he will appear when he comes the second time" (III,469). And as he comments on the Jewish High Priest entering the Holiest place alone, once a year on the Day of Atonement, he observes that because of the long-delayed return of Christ to judgment it is "no marvel if the faith of the world about Christ's coming is fled and gone long ago" (III,507). In Bunyan's time-scheme the saints must be continually looking and praying for the second coming, even as they work to complete the Holy City: "the people of God should all stand waiting for his benediction that to them he shall bring with him when he shall return...."(III,507) In the meantime, the saints must strive to regain the purity of the early church which had for a time remained true to the authority and doctrine of the apostles:

> The apostles were sent immediately, their call was extraordinary, their office was universal; they had alike power in all churches, and their doctrine was infallible. (III,471)

In discussing the function of the outer court of the temple

Bunyan expounds his millenarian view of biblical history that there is a period when Antichrist will be all-powerful: "Therefore all the time of the Beast's reign [i.e. the Roman Church] this court is given to be trodden under foot" (III,469). Bunyan's assertion of the pure state of the primitive church, that was followed by apostasy and near annihilation under Rome until the time of the Protestant Reformation is of utmost importance in considering the millenarian structure of The Holy War (1682).

Bunyan's own "war" with the flesh was soon to be over. His treatise The Acceptable Sacrifice (1689) was in the press when the author died on August 31 1688. It is based on David's penitential psalm, "The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit: a broken and contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise" (Ps.LI.17), and Bunyan, most appropriately, frames yet another appeal to his readers to make themselves right with God. For just over thirty years this had been the burden of his preaching and writing: the only means of reconciliation with a holy and just God is to be found through the cross of Christ. The first step of the way lies with a heartbreaking conviction of sin. Bunyan understands only too well the broken heart is hard to bear, "for Soul pain is the sorest pain" (I,696), but hard though it may be, it is to be coveted by the coming believer, "for without wounding there is no saving." But as he was writing the old ways were changing, and instantaneous conversions were becoming acceptable, foreshadowing the Wesleyan movement of the next century. The long-drawn out process of Puritan conviction of sin experienced by Bunyan and his contemporaries was being by-passed. Deploring this tendency Bunyan remarks, "Conversion is not the smooth, easy-going process some men seem to think it" (I,700), and he lays emphasis, as he has throughout his long career as a preacher and soul winner, on contrition: "the man who is truly come to God has had his heart broken" (I,714). It is God himself who lays this on believers, who "will kill them that they may live" (I,715). If some men are so misguided as to "think an invitation, an outward call, a rational discourse, will do....they are much deceived, there must be a power, an exceeding great and mighty power, attend the Word, or it worketh not effectually to the salvation of the soul" (I,715). And he warns as he has done from his first treatise that only those whose call is effectual can contemplate the "certainty and terribleness of the day of judgment" (I,714) with equanimity.

> ...Christ shall sit upon his great white throne, when the dead shall, by the sound of the trump of God, be raised up; when the elements, with heaven and earth, shall be on a burning flame; when Christ shall separate men one from another, as a shepherd divideth his sheep from the goats; when the books shall be opened, the witnesses produced, and every man be judged according to his works; when heaven's gate shall stand open to them that shall be saved, and the jaws of hell stand gaping for them that shall be damned. (I,714)

Bunyan can never be accused of blinding the saints with hopes of a millennium and shielding them from uncomfortable thoughts of the hereafter. He found both in his Bible; both were faithfully preached.

There is little in this last treatise, though, that deals directly with Bunyan's hope of a millennium, but George Cokayn, long time friend of the author and the Bedford Meeting, writes in his preface to the work which he saw through the press after Bunyan's death, of the "violent fermentations" that beset the nation, and expresses something of the feelings that Bunyan gave voice to, especially in his millenarian works of the earlier part of the decade.

> Mercy and judgment seem to be struggling in the same womb of providence; and which will come out first we know not; but neither of them can be comfortably met, but with a broken and a contrite spirit. (I,686)

This aged minister who had early associations with the Fifth Monarchists which he abandoned when violence was projected continues to entertain hopes, as Bunyan did, that God might suspend judgement, and, again, like Bunyan, he observes "the church's and the nation's provocations" (II,687) but believes "The greater the party is of mourning Christians, the more hope we have that the storm impending may be blown over, and the blessings enjoyed may yet be continued" (II,687). The Glorious Revolution two or three months later confirmed the dissenters right to worship in their own way, even if they still suffered from civil disabilities; moreover, this accomplished without the threatened bloodshed. The prayers of the party of "mourning Christians" were answered. Bunyan's own last sermon was recorded when he preached on 19

August, 1688, and he, too, exhorts the church to behave like the children of God that they are. There are no references to the "impending storm"--his only contemporary reference is to those who stain the pure doctrine of the church--and he declares vehemently, "I am no freewiller, I do abhor it" (II,756). His long and deeply felt antagonism towards those he feels are tampering with sound doctrine, from the Quaker Edward Burroughs on, is apparent here, but the bulk of his homily dwells on what he loved most to talk about--the new birth in Christ and how, "Men that believe in Jesus Christ, to the effectual receiving of Jesus Christ, they are born to it" (II,756). He ends on a mildly apocalyptic note, "Consider that the holy God is your Father, and let this oblige you to live like the children of God, that you may look your Father in the face, with comfort, another day" (II,758). The Bedford preacher did not lag behind those "holy worthies" he spoke so highly of in The Holy City in either "altar-work" or "temple-work" (III,429).

Released after his twelve year imprisonment in 1672, Bunyan doubtless would not have believed then that his death would occasion such widespread mourning. The years of freedom were used to the full, teaching, preaching and writing for a far wider audience than he ever could have dreamt of; it grew quickly after the publication of the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress in 1678. The freedom accorded nonconformists at the beginning of his official ministry might have seemed to indicate the millennial hopes envisioned in The Holy City (1665) were within reach, but this proved illusory. Within three years dissenters were again subjected to persecution, and he himself was imprisoned for a short period. The aftermath of the Popish Plot in 1678 made life even more difficult for dissenters, yet in the early part of the decade of the 1680's, amidst even more fierce persecution, Bunyan renewed his specifically millenarian writings, most notably in The Holy War (1682). He published nothing in the two years prior to his death, as the storm of persecution swept all before it. In 1685 he fully expected to be gaoled again. Slow to take advantage of James II's Declaration of Indulgence in 1687, Bunyan did publish five treatises the year of his death, three of them having strong millenarian overtones. A sixth treatise was in the press when he died. This renewal of Bunyan's interest in millenarianism in the 1680s cannot altogether be accounted for, except to say that the climate of opinion in the 1680s was conducive to it. The sight of the gaoled Richard Baxter examining the case for a millennium is some indication of the strength of the resurgent millenarian interest. Bunyan was ever the watchful pastor, anxious to protect the saints from the sin of taking up arms against lawfully constituted authority. Renewed millennial expectations were likely to result in bloodshed if past experience was to be trusted. Bunyan again proffers his scripturally based alternative, one that is fully certain to arrive, conducive to spiritual prosperity, but to be achieved without resort to "carnal weapons". And, as will be seen, the extent of Bunyan's preoccupation with the topic is by no means fully apparent in the works that did see the light of day in those troubled years.

Chapter 5

"At the rising of the Year": Bunyan's Last Manuscripts

Bunyan left behind eleven unpublished manuscripts. In 1692 ten of these were published in a folio that was intended to be the first volume of a complete edition of his works edited by his friend and admirer, Charles Doe. The eleventh, The Heavenly Footman, appeared separately in 1698, along with a Catalogue of all Bunyan's writings compiled by Doe.[1] Understandably, there is much speculation as to why these ten manuscripts, complete and ready for the printer, did not see the light of day until after Bunyan's death. Tindall states that subversive statements in some of these, most notably in the Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis (1692)--"That exercise in veiled sedition"[2] --is the reason Bunyan decided to forego publication. According to Tindall, prudence dictated this move. Certainly, as we have seen above, the authorities were on the alert and actively looking for any material that could conceivably be thought of as hostile to the regime, and undoubtedly the strong possibility existed that not only the material was in danger of apprehension, but also the author. It is impossible to agree with Tindall, however, that there is anything intentionally subversive in these works; nothing Bunyan says here is any sharper or more critical of the authorities than appeared in his previous writings. It is equally reasonable to surmise that they were left with Elizabeth Bunyan as a means of providing her with some money, (which, in fact, they did) in the event of her husband's imprisonment or death. The care Bunyan took to draw up the deed of gift to Elizabeth and ensure a safe hiding place for it when circumstances looked more threatening than usual in 1685 lends additional weight to such an argument.[3] The words of Charles Doe describing the first folio may also be significant. The works have been "Collected and Printed by the Procurement of his Church and Friends, and by his own Approbation before his Death."[4] He seems to suggest that a complete edition of Bunyan's works had been proposed in the author's lifetime, "But that an interested Bookseller opposed it."[5] This would lend credence to the idea Bunyan may have been deliberately withholding these manuscripts in anticipation of such a collected edition of his works. The new treatises would be an added attraction for prospective buyers. But whatever the reasons for the delay in publication one thing is clear: the millenarianism that appeared to be markedly increased in the treatises published towards the end of Bunyan's life is present to a significant degree in those works he had ready for the printer, which suggests that Bunyan was far from abandoning his millenarian hopes just before his death. If anything, the apparent increase in millenarian material would point to these hopes being more lively than ever. However, it must be borne in mind that there is little to go on, apart from internal evidence, for the dating of these documents, just as there is ongoing uncertainty as to when the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress was written. William York

Tindall assumes the posthumous millenarian publications were written "in 1683 or later,"[6] during the persecution that was much worse than had befallen the dissenters in the previous two decades. On the basis of the internal evidence where it coincides with the historical facts, I assume dates between 1680 and 1688 for these treatises.

Treatises that appeared the year Bunyan died include Solomon's Temple Spiritualized (1688), The Water of Life (1688) and the Discourse of the Building, Nature, Excellency and Government of the House of God (1688), and, as has been shown above, all show evidence of millennial ideas and imagery. Of the eleven posthumous works, three deal with millenarianism to a depth and degree not seen since 1665 in The Holy City (apart from the Holy War in 1682). These three are Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis, A Discourse of the House of the Forest of Lebanon, and Antichrist and His Ruin. Of the remainder in the 1692 Folio, four treat doctrinal matters in an impeccably orthodox fashion that could scarcely have been faulted by the most zealous inquisitor in Protestant England. The times were unquestionably most difficult for nonconformists, but these four works could not have been withheld on that account. The Heavenly Footman (1698) is also doctrinally unimpeachable, but the remaining treatises do contain varying degrees of millenarianism, although it can be said that those published the year of Bunyan's death probably exceed them in millenarian content. Thus their millenarian characteristics hardly provide sufficient reason for their being withheld from publication.

Of the four purely doctrinal treatises, two deal with prayer and two with grace. *The Saint's Knowledge of Christ's Love* and *The Saint's Privilege and Profit* both deplore, as indeed Bunyan does consistently throughout his ministry, the absence of stalwart prayer warriors among the elect. In the former treatise the Bedford preacher laments that Spirit filled men are "at this day, wanting in the churches" (II,35); too often saints are "found playing *truant,* and lurking like thieves in one hole or other" (II,31). In the latter work, Bunyan also comments sadly on the hypocrisy evident in the prayer life among many who do frequent the churches: "The greatest part of professors now-a-days take up their time in contracting of guilt, and are asking for pardon and yet are not much the better" (I,682). They are solemnly warned that the for those who neglect the throne of grace, "a throne of judgment" awaits (I,643). *The Desire of the Righteous Granted* expounds yet again the doctrine of justification by faith and makes the observation that the faithful remmant of Christ's church is still under active persecution, being, "kicked to and fro, like footballs in the world" (I,759), which leads to the supposition that this work may have been written as early as 1682-1684. *Justification by an Imputed Righteousness* re-affirms the Christian's freedom from the Mosaic law: under grace "the law now has nothing to do with us" (I,304). In this treatise Bunyan emphasizes the role of human will, despite the fact that he is, as has been shown, "no freewiller": "Let all men, therefore, that would please God make conscience of believing; on pain, I say, of displeasing him; on pain of being, with Cain, rejected, and on pain of being damned in hell" (I,330). In this work Bunyan does imply a steady progression of the church towards a millennium, but for the individual believer death may intervene, and, in any case, as in the primitive church, each believer must bear in mind Christ's warning that the second coming may occur when men least expect it. The Christian's duty means that each saint stands ready and waiting on the Lord: there must never be a moment that an elect soul is unprepared to face the last judgment:

> Or how, if the next sight I see with mine eyes be the Lord in the clouds, with all his angels, raining floods of fire and brimstone upon the world? Am I in a case to be thus near mine end? to hear this trump of God? or to see this great appearance of this great God, and the Lord Jesus Christ? (I,334)

Three of the remaining six treatises published in 1692, in addition to Bunyan's usual apocalyptic language, do also have direct millenarian allusions, albeit in varying degrees. Paul's Departure and Crown is an exhortation to a persecuted church to "continue watchful and abide faithful" (I,722) based on St. Paul's words "For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand" (2 Tim. IV, 6-8). It would seem that Bunyan contemplates a similar fate for himself. The sombre tone and content make it possible that this may have been written in the dark days of 1684-1686.

Bunyan urges the godly person to forego thinking of worldly pursuits and to "let religion be the only business to take up thy thoughts and time" (I,733). Not that the bitterness of the present may be unproductive, for the sufferings of the church have, in the past, led to better days for the faith. Bunyan's millennial sense of history is plain as he points this out: "How hath the headship and lordship of Christ, with many other doctrines of God, been taken away from the Pope by the sufferings of our brethren before us? While their flesh did fry in the flames, the Word of God was cleansed, and by such means purified in these their earthen furnaces, and so delivered to us" (I,725). It would be hard to adduce the sentiments in this document as "subversive" for here, as elsewhere, Bunyan makes his monarchical principles and personal loyalty to the crown only too clear: "what power and place the precepts of kings do take in the hearts of their subjects, every one loving and reverencing the statute, because there is the name of their king. Will you rebel against the king? is a word that shakes the world" (I,732). Such openly professed loyalty notwithstanding, he does not hesitate to condemn needless punishments meted out to the innocent, although his terms are general and historical, not specific and topical: "the murders and outrage that our brethren suffer at the hands of wicked men should not discourage those that live, from a full and faithful performance of their duty to God and man, whatever may be the consequences thereof" (I,723). This faithful discharge of

Christian duty paves the way for Christ's second coming to judgment, while "loitering" (I,730) in this work defers and holds it back. That sentiments like these evince "a deep and natural hatred of both king and government" as Tindall alleges, and that "Bunyan's expressions of loyalty were dictated by judgement, policy and the practice of the Baptists, who refused to admit their occasional interest in sedition"[7] is to do the Bedford preacher a grave injustice. However difficult it has always been for Christians to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's," (Matt.22.21) the thought of the accounting to be done at judgment day obviously makes deliberate deceit for the purposes of any kind of worldly advantage something to be shunned like the Devil himself.

In Israel's Hope Encouraged Bunyan warns of the inevitability of judgment yet again, while at the same time anticipating the joy it will hold for the saints, for in "the judgment day, that blessed jubilee, God will take our body, which originally is his, and will deliver it from the bonds of corruption..." (I,607). But even as he talks of the judgment day his millenarian hopes come to the fore as he envisages a future period of happiness on earth: "There is yet belonging to the church of God a redemption, from what remains of Antichrist, although as yet he is stronger than we..."(I,606). There is much in this work, too, that makes it possible to conjecture it was written during the troubled times of the previous decade. In particular, the references to the Popish Plot of 1678 have a kind of urgency, perhaps an indication it is relatively fresh in his recollection which would argue for an early date in the 80's. As Bunyan continues to admonish the saints for placing their hopes in the temporal rather than the spiritual realm, he speaks of the church's reaction to the events that had rocked the entire nation, and what he says recalls ~~his~~ Advice to Sufferers published in 1684, added evidence for an early composition date:

> ...our days indeed have been days of trouble especially since the discovery of the Popish plot, for then we began to fear cutting of throats, of being burned in our beds, and of seeing our children dashed in pieces before our faces. But looking about us, we found we had a gracious king, brave parliaments, a stout city, good lord-mayors, honest sheriffs, substantial laws against them, and these we made the object of our hope, quite forgetting the direction in this exhortation, "Let Israel hope in the Lord." For indeed the Lord ought to be our hope in temporals, as well as in spirituals and eternals. (I,585)

Bunyan's ready identification of the godly as the new "Israel" of God is thoroughly in keeping with the Protestant thought that had permeated England and the notion that England herself might be the new "chosen" nation of God.

Although Bunyan followed his father's humble occupation as a brazier, father and son came from a long line of freedom loving Bedfordshire yeomen. The painting of the younger Bunyan in the National Portrait Gallery in London, in his decent brown homespun, takes the visitor's eye immediately, so well do his solid features and sober stance stand out among the elegant features and rich raiment of the surrounding portraits, epitomising the hardy independence of his breed. In his lifetime Bunyan demonstrated this heritage through his healthy respect for the ancient laws of the kingdom as well as his king, and his concern to preserve common law cannot be construed as strange or in any way rebellious, unless he can also be accused of being a barefaced liar. Bunyan's attitude in many ways is typical of the seventeenth-century Englishman, but since "Common Law" had been the rallying cry used to generate opposition to the king, both before and during the Civil Wars, continual reference to it would quite possibly have engendered suspicion. Bunyan does not make a habit of directly referring to it, but, like most of his contemporaries, familiar with Magna Carta, on this one occasion he presses it into service as an analogy for the acceptance by God of Christ's sacrifice which "some brain-sick fellows" have a quarrel with, thinking that their objections "will put God upon taking new measures for his people" (I,600).

> The old laws, which are the Magna Charta, the sole basis of the government of a kingdom, may not be cast away for the pet that is taken by every little gentleman against them. (I,600)

By "brain-sick fellows" Bunyan means everyone from Roman Catholics to Quakers--anyone, in fact, who does not accept justification by faith in Christ as the only means of reconciliation with God. It is, of course, possible the choice of this particular comparison does have some reference to current events fresh in his mind. Charles II dissolved his fourth parliament in 1681 and summoned a fifth which lasted all of a week. The most ardent Royalists were worried, for he then proceeded to reign for four years without calling parliament at all, and the parallel with his father's rule between 1629 and 1640 must have been on the minds of many Englishmen, great and small. However, Bunyan's consistent expressions of loyalty to the throne make it rather unlikely that there is implied criticism of the English king himself in his analogy. If there is inherent criticism of the royal prerogative, it is more likely to be obliquely directed against Louis XIV's absolute monarchy. The "Sun King", even before he revoked the Edict of Nantes in 1685, was hotly persecuting the French Protestants. If, indeed, Bunyan's remarks are meant as criticism nearer home, they may well refer to some local Justices of the Peace who often chose to enforce laws rigorously or less so, according to their personal preferences, something of which Bunyan had firsthand experience: the Bedford preacher had good reason to have little respect for such men.

It is true that the fame garnered by his well-travelled Pilgrim may have made Bunyan less personally vulnerable to potential malice, in addition to having made him more sophisticated in the ways of the world through even greater contact with university educated men in his frequent travels. But Bunyan is seldom credited with any kind of cosmopolitan outlook, despite his many visits to one of the liveliest capitals in Europe. One feels the implied criticism in the emphasis laid on Bunyan's birthplace and humble occupation:

"Can anything good come out of Bedford?" Yet, as has been shown, Bunyan was well-informed about what was going on in France and Spain and some parts of Germany where Protestantism would not be countenanced by the dominant Roman Catholic church. Earlier in this treatise he draws attention to "the many thousands that dare not so much as once think of true religion, because of the power of the enemy which they behold...", and he proceeds with regal indifference to dismiss any powerful persecutor as "the devil's scarecrow" (I,602). Power in the final analysis belongs to an almighty God who not only defended the Israelites of old but also has been seen to defend the new Israel of the Protestant church.

The sovereign power of God is again heavily emphasized in Christ a Complete Saviour and this treatise has, too, a distinctly millenarian perspective as it looks forward to the time Antichrist will be quite overthrown and "the nations [shall] come in and be saved, and shall walk in the light of the Lord" (I,237). Given the millenarian character of the work, Christ's role is not depicted quite as one would expect. Here Christ is not primarily seen as king of the church setting up the Fifth Monarchy, but as the believer's great high priest who is able to "save to the uttermost," (I,211) and who will make every single believer a king in heaven, "crowned with crowns" (I,229). Nevertheless, Bunyan still places the coming earthly triumph of Christianity, when "the abundance that shall come in to God by Christ towards the latter end of the world" (I,237), in the customary historical framework he so often uses in describing the millennium: a time frame, needless to say, to which most of his contemporaries would have given a ready assent:

> He has been a Saviour these four thousand years already--two thousand before the law, two thousand in the time of the law--besides the sixteen hundred years he has in his flesh continued to make intercession for them that come unto God by him. (I,237)

The final end of history will be the sudden return of Christ to judgment: "a warm thing to be thought of...in which men, if they could, would creep into the ground for fear" (I,232). The apocalyptic language that is often associated with premillennial tribulation is here used to leap over that period altogether to dwell instead on the actual era of earthly bliss that is certain to come about, and the author anticipates that all good Christians will pray for "the flourishing of Christ's kingdom, which [they] know will never be until Antichrist is dead, and till the Spirit be more plentifully poured upon us from on high" (I,226). There are echoes of that first bright vision of The Holy City as he describes the great outpouring of God's Holy Spirit on men before the end of the world: "The grace of God and blood of Christ will, before the end of the world, make brave work among the sons of men!"(I,237) And, as in his early work, he looks for the "abundance" of converts from every corner of the globe, "when Antichrist is gone to bed in the sides of the pit's mouth" (I,237). This binding of Antichrist plays a vital role in the structure of his Holy War (1682), and some of Bunyan's phraseology in this treatise bears such an acute resemblance to that of the earlier prose fiction it is difficult to resist the conclusion that both may have been written about the same time. Satan's "drumming", for instance, which is one of the memorable, yet somewhat puzzling metaphors of the _Holy War_, seems to be described here too: "None know the things that haunt a backslider's mind, his _new_ sins are all talking devils, threatening devils, roaring devils, within him" (I,224). But these will pass, for "the devil and sin must not live for ever not for ever to accuse" (I,235), and Satan's final demise is reserved for "the day of Christ; that is, until he comes to judgment" (I,236).

In the unfinished _Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis_ Bunyan's biblical historical millenarianism is made plainer still. As the author surveys the Genesis account of creation he concludes "the first thing God made was time" (II,417), and it is within this divine time framework that Bunyan views all history: something particularly evident both in _The Holy City_ and the _Holy War_. Archbishop Ussher had broken new ground with his calculation of the exact date of the creation, but the seven epochs or ages or spans of a thousand year had been widely accepted within the church from the early days of the Christian era as has been shown above. Bunyan refers to Christ being born "four thousand years after the earth was made" (II,421), but in his largely allegorical interpretation of the seven days of creation he assumes that the "sabbath" refers also to "The seventh thousand of years, which are to follow immediately after the world hath stood six thousand first: for as God was six days in the works of creation, and rested the seventh: so in six thousand years he will perfect his works and providences that concern this world" (II,424). This period of blessing will see the Edenic curse on man, beast, and nature considerably mitigated before ending in "the eternal judgment of the world" (II,424). Even so, just as these very end times now seem predictably near, God will not necessarily be tied to the best biblical calculations, for, as Bunyan reminds his readers, "A day with the Lord is as a thousand years" (II,424). Later, as he is discussing the Flood and the account of the two flights of the dove to test the state of the waters, he warns his readers once more "not to make conclusions too suddenly about God's dispensation, saying it must be now or never; for it may be the seven days are not out...Seeming delays are no hindrance to faith; they ought to try it, and put it into exercise" (II,479). That puny man may not dictate times and seasons to almighty God is fundamental to a Calvinist brand of Christian faith that asserts the supremacy of God, and Bunyan sees fit to issue another admonition to the saints lest their speculations bring disrepute and disgrace to themselves for "all men to see their folly" (II,480). His tone is solemn as he reiterates, "Yea, I say again, take heed lest that for thy setting of God a seven days' times, he set not thee so many as seven times seven" (II,480).

Bunyan's patient and reverent stance contrasts sharply with that of many millenarians. Eminent scholars like Thomas Beverley, not to mention Fifth Monarchists generally, shared a penchant for date setting. Even a moderate millenarian like the Cambridge Platonist, Henry More, could affirm in 1669, with something like self-congratulation, that it had been "left for Protestants to compute the approach of the final Ruine of Antichrist and the blessed Millennium according to their own progress in the mysterie of real Regeneration and indispensable Duties of Christianity."[8] Bunyan's reluctance in this regard does not mean that he is without hope that the end of the present persecutions is at hand and that "others will reap the fruit of our travails, and that some of us shall live to see it, as Enos lived to see his Cainan possess religion eight hundred years" (II,457). Bunyan associates the good days of "blessed Cainan" with the downfall of Antichrist, and claims that "These long-lived men, therefore, shew us the glory that the church will have in the latter day, even in the seventh thousand years of the world when Christ shall set up his kingdom on earth..." (II,456). As a convicted millenary who has his own private hope of seeing great happenings in his lifetime, Bunyan naturally does share some premises with the Fifth Monarchists, including the assumption that the world has seen "four great monarchies" of which Babylon "though the first in the order of being [is] yet the last in a gospel or mysterious sense" (II,426). In common with most

Protestants, of both Calvinist and Lutheran persuasion, he believes the primitive church did enjoy a period of purity which lasted "so long as she kept close to the doctrine and discipline of the gospel" (II,501). He once more puts forward his considered opinion that it is detrimental to the church to seek to meddle in the political arena because of the spiritual risk involved, for the primitive church lost her first innocence when she allied herself with the empire of Constantine opening the door to heinous errors of doctrine under Rome. He considers it the duty of the leaders of the gathered churches to warn their flocks against such involvement:

> ...while men abide in the church of God there is not by them a seeking after the monarchies of this world; but when they depart from thence, then they seek and strive to be heads; as that cursed monster the pope, forsaking the garden of God, became in a manner the prince of all the earth. (II,426)

Tindall considers Bunyan's reference to the biblical figure of Nimrod in this treatise particularly subversive: "In Nimrod Bunyan saw the abuses of absolutism."[9] The Bedford preacher certainly states "he was the first that in this new world [i.e. after the Flood] "sought after absolute monarchy." Nimrod controlled religion and persecuted the righteous. As Bunyan puts it: "He therefore would needs be the author and master of what religion he pleased; and would also subject the rest of his brethren thereto, by what ways his lusts thought best" (II,497). But Bunyan's association of Nimrod and "the mystical Babel" built by the king with those who "rebelled from the simplicity of the gospel of Christ" (II,498) casts the allegorization of "this mighty hunter" far wider than the Stuart kings of England or even the absolute monarch Louis XIV of France that Bunyan does openly allude to as an associate of Rome and a persecutor of the true church in France--the Huguenots. In this instance, he sets his allegorization within a firm historical biblical perspective: Nimrod represents all those in every age who oppose the true church, especially those who have sought power within "Romish Babel" (II,498), and all are destined for perdition:

> So then, let Augustine the monk, come from Rome to England, and let him build his Nineveh here; let others go also into other countries, and build their Resens and Calahs there; these are all but brats of Babel, and their end shall be, That they perish for ever. John saw it, and the cities, that is, the churches of the nations, or the national churches, fell; and great Babylon, their inventor and founder, "came into remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath." Re.xvi.19. (II,498)

In this treatise, as in Israel's Hope Encouraged, Bunyan continues to chide the godly, including himself, for tending in times of persecution to place their confidence in carnal appurtenances, or, more specifically, the rule of law in England, hoping that "such a man, or that such an outward means may prevent our being swept away with this flood" (II,474). These similarities could argue for the treatises being written at much the same time. He states once more that because affliction brings the church closer to her Lord it "makes persecution so pleasant a thing" (II,473), and later he goes on to assert that "the days of affliction, of temptation and distress, are harsh to flesh and blood; yet they are not half as dangerous as are the days of peace and liberty" (II,494). And one is conscious of how close he is to Martin Luther in a statement like this. The powers-that-be are all too often the provokers of this affliction, but Bunyan, relying on Old Testament history for precedent, perceives that "the high and mighty" (II,477) may also be instrumental in bringing the very days of peace and plenty that may prove both delightful and yet paradoxically "dangerous" to the godly: "when the great ones of this world [begin] to discover themselves to the church by way of encouragement" they are blessings indeed as relievers of persecution, and even though it "be too much below a Christian to place his confidence in men, yet when God shall raise up Josias or a Cyrus, we may take encouragement at this working of God" (II,477). One would imagine that Bunyan would greet the reign of William and Mary after the Glorious Revolution in 1688 in this way. But Bunyan also observes God's workings in the traditional mediaeval way. He is the "the great architect" in the process of an orderly creation, going from "things less, to things abundantly glorious" (II,422). The church, indeed, must have her glorious day, and in this thought Bunyan is simply following a well-established seventeenth-century exegesis of Revelation. Small wonder, then, that he can anticipate with confidence a time when the name of Christ will be "reverenced from one end of the earth to the other: how the kingdoms of the earth shall ALL at last become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ" (II,423).

But this magnificent hope lies in the future: the present is ominous and threatening. A Discourse of the House of the Forest of Lebanon seems to have been written in the midst of yet more troubles for the saints: the frequent reassurances to the authorities that the church "moveth no sedition" is reminiscent of Seasonable Counsel: or Advice to Sufferers (1684). Bunyan's interpretation here of a fascinating piece of biblical history found in the First Book of Kings (VI, 37-38; VII 1,2) is especially interesting for, as Offor points out (III,511), the ex-tinker, apparently by means of a close reading of the English text, runs significantly in advance of contemporary biblical scholarship. The passage in question tells of Solomon, having finished both the temple and his own house, built "also the house of the forest of Lebanon" (III,512) as an outlying fortress on the northern part of the kingdom "to make assaults and to be assaulted" (III,514). That Bunyan understands this to be so is enough to validate his treatise, but it was more usual for biblical scholars of that time to claim "the house of the forest of Lebanon" to be "none other than that called the temple at Jerusalem" (III,512). By dint of his own careful perusal of the text Bunyan decides this is not so: the building is a separate third edifice. He then proceeds to demonstrate allegorically for his readers the "similitude betwixt this house in the forest of Lebanon, and our gospel church in the wilderness" (III,515). As he views the condition of Christ's church throughout the world he takes pains once more to move beyond the experience of English nonconformists, lamenting that "our New Testament persecuted one is scattered among the nations, as a flock of sheep are scattered in a wood or wilderness" (III,515). This statement would favour an argument dating the treatise as having been produced in the first half of the previous decade--perhaps even as early as 1682--the year in which The Greatness of the Soul shows such acute awareness of the sufferings of French Protestants.

Following his usual practice, Bunyan utilizes the biblical description of the actual building as "a type" of New Testament church: Solomon's house of the forest of Lebanon is "the church in the wilderness, or as she is in her sackcloth state" (III,513). He reasons that as the "temple was a figure of the church under the gospel, as she relateth to worship...the house of the forest of Lebanon was a figure of that church as she is assaulted for her worship, as she is persecuted for the same" (III,513), and the author emphasises that, although the house was built solely for defence and "moveth mo sedition", it nevertheless has a peculiar ability to provoke the hostility of the world:

> The largeness, therefore, and prowess of the church, by reason of her inherent fortitude and the valorous acts that she hath done by suffering, by prayer, by faith, and a constant enduring of hardship for the truth, doth force into the world a belief, through their own

> guilt and clamours of conscience against them for their debaucheries, that this house of Lebanon will destroy them all when she shall be delivered from her servitude. (III,516)

It is unreasonable to take this passage to mean that the church threatens force, for Bunyan remains adamant that though "this people shall prevail" victory will not be achieved through the use of "worldly force". It clearly cannot be so, because as he again states "the weapons of the church" are not carnal (III,516). Bunyan, like believers from earliest times, places his confidence in divine might: "her God will deliver her" (III,516). The means will be of his choosing: they may be miraculous as when Peter was delivered from jail by an "angel", or they may be due to fortuitous natural happenings as when Paul and Silas were set free by an earthquake. The means of deliverance may stem from the acts of those "good rulers" raised up specially for the purpose, or may be the result of the acts of wicked men bent on destruction, doomed to perish because evil inevitably preys on itself. Bunyan sees the preservation of the church in the wilderness as itself being evidence of God's care of her, and he depicts it in glowing apocalyptic terms: "And to the woman, were given two wings of a great eagle, that she might fly into the wilderness into her place" (Rev. XII,14). In this instance Bunyan is again giving the usual interpretation of the apocalypse, for most commentators, from earliest times, have identified the "woman" of Revelation with the church.

Bunyan takes pains to reassure the saints of his day that, like the woman in Revelation, Christ's church will be divinely aided and protected in adversity until better days arrive: "The church therefore loseth not all her titles of honour, no, not when at the lowest, she is God's heaven still; though she may not be called now a crown of glory, yet she is still God's lily amongst the thorns" (III,517). The promise, of course, only holds true, as Bunyan insists throughout his writings, if she stands by and maintains her apostolical doctrine (III,578). She has a vital part to play in the celestial conflict--the holy war--for "when the combustion for religion is in the church in the wilderness it is said to be in heaven--'And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels.'Re. xii.7" (III,517). Bunyan vigorously repeats his contention that it must follow that "there will, there must, there cannot but be a spiritual warfare here, and that until one of the two are destroyed, and their body given to the burning flame" (III,522). The church's role is not insignificant because it is "God's tower or battery by which he beateth down Antichrist" (III,534), yet the Bedford preacher continues to insist that this war to the death in the universe implies neither the church's sanction of physical violence against nations nor incitement of individuals towards sedition or violence:

> Here is therefore no man's person in danger by this war. And I say again, so far as any man's person is in danger, it is by wrong managing of this war. True, the persons of the Christians are in danger, but that is because of the bloody

> disposition of the antichristian enemy. But we speak now with reference to the Lamb and the army that follows him; and as to them, no man's person is in danger simply as such. Wherefore, it is not men but sin; not men, but the man of sin, that wicked one, that the Son of God makes war against, in and by his church. 2 Th.ii.8. He.xii.4.
> Let us therefore state the matter right; no man needs be afraid to let Jesus Christ be chief in the world, he envies nobody, he designs the hurt of none: his kingdom is not of this world, nor doth he covet temporal matters; let but his wife, his church alone, to enjoy her purchased privileges, and all shall be well. Which privileges of hers, since they are soul concerns, make no infringement upon any man's liberties. (III,527)

The gist of these reiterations follows much the same pattern of arguments that he presented earlier in The Holy City (1665), and may appear to us to be excessive reassurance, but Bunyan had good reason to fear what the world might make of his words, preoccupied as it is by material, not spiritual concerns. One might wonder, too, what he means by "the wrong management of the war" and suspect that he has in mind those Fifth Monarchy Men who attempted to usher in the kingdom by force of arms, or even those Fifth Monarchists who sought political power during the decade of the 50s, in order to prepare the way for the Fifth Monarchy. This is far removed from Bunyan's "holy war" which cannot be imagined as other than what he categorically states it to be. And it is this "holy war" that he allegorizes in his book of that name--Christ against Antichrist. He stresses there, as he does in this treatise, that "Christ is a priest to save, a prophet to teach, and a king to rule his church. (Is.xxxiii.22.) But this Antichrist cannot bear, therefore he attempts to get up into the throne himself, and to act as if he were one above all that is called God..." (III,519). Although Antichrist in the divine dispensation is permitted to make "inroads upon the church in the wilderness, to slay, to cut off, and to kill" (III,519), his powers are limited by the divine will. A sovereign God undertakes that his building will "stand fast, notwithstanding the wind and storm" (III,519). Through testing and tribulation the church will be purified and strengthened: her doctrine will be cleansed from all error and, eventually, her sad divisions will be healed. For Bunyan once more asserts there can be no millennium until "divisions, by the consent of the whole, are banished" (III,525). The astonishing ecumenical spirit and catholicity that pervade Bunyan's work are never more evident than when he speaks of the millennium. But until the dawn of that happy era he prophesies that all will not be well in the church. Not until the "many petty divisions" about "things of a lesser import" (III,524) are, by mutual consent, abandoned can the church "look for good days, and not until then" (III,525).

The "good days" of the millennium will be born out of the travails of the woman, for even in her "sackcloth" state the church will be fruitful: "the church in the wilderness [will] increase more, and be far larger than she that had peace and prosperity" (III,515). This vision coincides with Bunyan's earlier one of the Holy City having the power to attract multitudes. Fears on the part of the powers-that-be that this increase in the numbers of nonconformists in gathered churches (for such by and large comprise the true church according to Bunyan) will lead to another Fifth Monarchy uprising are natural. Bunyan takes cognizance of the secular authorities' propensity for taking fright at any vague threat of such a thing and goes to great lengths to assuage them. First, in his insistence that believers only want to be free to worship God in their own way, and, second, that they have no ambition at all to take over the secular state and set up a rule by saints: "Let her temple-worshippers but alone, and she will be as if she were not in the world" (III,516). To take his sober warning that those who afflict the church will eventually meet with the judgments of God as a subtle threat of force against the state is absurd. If Bunyan's veracity can be called into question on this issue, his entire integrity as a Christian preacher must also be called into account. Yet his whole experience as a Bible-centred Christian leads him to freely admit that "the holy war" can have only one outcome. It must end with the triumph of Jesus Christ and his saints, but the "slaughter must needs be spiritual" (III,536), since the warfare itself is spiritual. God's disposition of human history will indeed lead to Christ's reign on Mount Zion, but Bunyan charitably takes into account the fear that such a spiritual authority may invoke in the hearts of the present secular authorities. He not only insists that the saints are peaceably inclined, but also that they "know their places" (III,536). He strongly denies that his millenarian notions are hostile to lawfully constituted authority, while at the same time stating his belief in the spiritual overthrow of Antichrist by Christ's coming--first in spirit to inaugurate his prophesized millennial reign "which draweth nigh" (III,537) and at the end of the thousand years his second coming in person to judgment:

> I know there are extravagant opinions in the world about the kingdom of Christ, as if it consisted in temporal glory in part, and as if he would take it to him by carnal weapons, and so maintain it in its greatness and grandeur; but I confess myself an alien to these notions, and believe and profess the quite contrary, and look for the coming of Christ to judgment personally, and betwixt this and that, for his coming in Spirit and in the power of his word to destroy Antichrist, to inform kings, and so give quietness to his church on earth; which shall assuredly be accomplished, when the reign of the beast, the whore, the false prophet, and of the man of sin is out. (III,536-537)

Antichrist and his Ruin: and of the Slaying of the Witnesses is the work which most clearly details (as the title indicates) the author's considered conclusions about the nature of the Antichrist, although many of these have been stated or been implied in earlier works, particularly those with a strong millenarian bias. But it is interesting to note the patriotic reason he gives for writing this treatise. He declares it is "to testify my loyalty to my king, my love to the brethren, and service for my country" (II,45). This work differs significantly from Bunyan's other millenarian ones in that it does not entirely share their largely optimistic view of the future. It is true other works depict the church in her "sackcloth state", but they are unanimous in looking for a bright future on this earth soon. The church may indeed be going through tribulation, but it is also progressively enlarging itself even as "the house of the forest of Lebanon" in the wilderness. The other millenarian treatises follow Bunyan's Holy City in envisaging the church's golden age encompassing all of mankind, and in Antichrist and his Ruin, too, Bunyan follows his wonted millenarian view of biblical history in seeing the Antichrist being overthrown in progressive stages. But here he also introduces a most sombre interpretation of the slaying of the two Witnesses in the eleventh chapter of Revelation by identifying them with the true church. According to this new, dark interpretation, the church, instead of gradually enlarging herself, even under persecution, may, before the annihilation of Antichrist (which is still certain), be almost completely decimated: "before this Antichrist is destroyed...there will be for a time scarce be found a Christian spirit, or a true visible living church of Christ in the world" (II,66). This is in such marked contrast to other statements that it would be of great interest to know if this is Bunyan's final word on the subject, and the dating of the treatise, therefore, takes on a more than usual importance. We have, in fact, several rather more firm clues here than are to be found in the other 1692 publications, although the general tenor of the work, in itself, suggests the same period as Seasonable Counsel: or Advice to Sufferers (1684). Bunyan gives precisely the same advice to the suffering church which is repeated more than once in both works: "Take heed, I say therefore, of laying of the trouble of the church of God at the doors of governors; especially at the doors of kings, who seldom trouble churches of their own inclinations; (I say, seldom; for some have done so, as Pharaoh)" (II,45). The real cause of the church's troubles, as Bunyan has said many times, is sin within herself. That he would either deign to placate the authorities, or seek to avoid their wreaking their fear and anger on the church by deliberate mendacity would clearly empty his Christian ministry of its sincere purpose. The plight of the Protestants in France which he mentions, (giving some indication of a possible date) is pitiful, but one can infer that sin is the ultimate cause of that too. He had drawn attention to the Huguenots in The Greatness of the Soul (1682), but here, in "A Premonition to the Reader", he relates their unhappy state more directly to his millenarian view of history:

> The protestants in France had more favour formerly, than from their prince they at this time have; yet I doubt not but that God will make that horn also one of them (in his time) that (indeed) shall hate the whore. (II,44)

This may be a specific reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louis XIV, but it may equally well have been written three or four years earlier. Tindall seems to feel it is a very late work, ("he died shortly after its composition")[10], but hard evidence is lacking. The religious and civil disabilities of the French Protestants had been increasing since 1660 and were accelerated after Louis XIV embraced a militant Catholicism in 1678.[11] The infamous "Dragonnades", the quartering of troops, often with accompanying violence, on Protestant households, it is true, did not commence until 1681, but severe measures before then were much in evidence: schools were closed and churches demolished from 1666 onwards.[12] The writing on the wall was plain for all Europe to see, and if the plight of nonconformists in England was unhappy, it did not bear comparison with what their brethren in France were suffering. England was a refuge for the French, although they, too, were expected to conform to the practices of the established church. On the whole, the Huguenots were felt to merit the sympathy of Englishmen, especially with the increased paranoia about Roman Catholicism and Jesuits that followed the Popish Plot of 1678. There would be few who would have concurred with the view of Bunyan's friend, William Dell, who as early as 1667 entertained suspicions that the influx would lead to an increase of popery in England and proposed the radical solution: "Banish all French and outlandish men."[13] Dell's fears were specifically of increased popery, but by 1681 forebodings had developed about Louis XIV's expansionist designs which threatened not only England's, but all European countries' trade and territories. One anonymous writer in that year urges that England should launch a preventive war.

Since "the liberty of all Christendom was at stake" it would be wise to collaborate with allies in a naval assault: "A timely war is less dangerous than an uncertain peace."[14] The argument has a distinctly modern ring! In the same bleak year, 1681, Edmund Everard comments, as Bunyan is to do in the following year, on the previous satisfactory state of the French Protestants, observing that since the Edict of Nantes, which in 1598 gave French Protestants certain rights and freedoms, "Popish Bishops and Presbyterian Professors lived quietly together for about a whole century."[15] This happy situation was evident to William Gouge as early as 1632 and he rejoiced in the liberty afforded the reformed churches in France.[16] Now, half a century later, liberty of conscience was non-existent; Protestant ministers might not correspond with each other or preach without fear of informers. Civil liberties were also curtailed: Huguenots were barred from the professions and might not be master craftsmen. More than three hundred decrees were enacted against Protestants' religious and personal freedoms even before the actual Revocation of Nantes.[17]

Undoubtedly Bunyan was aware of some of these things, or he would not have mentioned the French Protestants at all. Nonconformists in England certainly had their own grievances to be addressed, but they enjoyed a measure of freedom that the Huguenots doubtless would have given much to have in their own country, and one wonders how much Bunyan's knowledge of the situation influenced his attitude towards the troubles dissenters had to endure in England. As a frequent visitor to London Bunyan would have known of the presence of the numerous refugees (some 50,000 between 1660 and 1706)[18] and the many Huguenot churches springing up. Whether he thought these more evangelical than the average gathered churches in England we have no way of knowing, but in Antichrist and his Ruin Bunyan's view of the church in England as opposed to the Church of England is decidedly jaundiced. He claims that for the last twenty years it has been steadily deteriorating:

> This twenty years we have been degenerating, both as to principles, and as to practice; and have grown at last into an amazing likeness to the world, both as to religion and civil demeanour. (II,45)

This note is one that is virtually absent from The Holy City, although it is present in some of the subsequent treatises. In The Strait Gate (1675) he warns "the swarms of prayerless professors" of the judgments they may bring upon themselves and the nation. And almost ten years later he still grieves in A Holy Life the Beauty of Christianity (1684) that "Love is gone out of the country" (II,520) and gives vent to his fears about the increasing numbers of false ministers and professors. In the absence of any more concrete evidence, it is not unreasonable on the basis of the internal evidence to assign Antichrist and His Ruin a date not earlier than 1680, nor later than 1686: more probably towards the latter date.

Despite the uncertainty of the dating, it is clear that by the time he wrote this treatise Bunyan had given a great deal of thought to the biblical depiction of Christ's adversary in all his guises--the Antichrist who has "blasphemed against the Holy Ghost, and so set himself above the Father, the Son, the Spirit; against ALL that is called God" (II,75). In his discussion of the nature of the Antichrist Bunyan does not confine this supernatural evil merely to the Papacy, as Luther does in his Commentary on Galatians, nor does he see only Rome being the seat of Antichrist as Bullinger does in 1561 or Brightman in 1615. It would seem generally that those commentators who date the millennium in the past, from the birth of Christ, or the founding of the church by the apostles, or the accession of Constantine, focus more strongly on Rome as the Antichrist than do most seventeenth-century writers, although the latter are seldom to be outdone in the descriptions of the Pope being, as William Dell Bunyan's friend puts it, "First Born of Earth of the Devil" whose title "should not be His Holiness but His Wickedness."[19] Nevertheless, as we have seen, there was a tendency to broaden the description of Antichrist to include bishops of the Anglican church as well as the enemy during the Civil War when Cavaliers and Roundheads assigned the role to each other. John Rogers, the Fifth Monarchy Man, displays the typical spirit when in 1653 he consigns to Antichrist the "hot spirits of violent Presbyterianism too (so called) who agree too much with Papacy and Prelacy."[20]

In Antichrist and His Ruin Bunyan starts off by making a sober attempt to lead his readers to an understanding of the biblical Antichrist who is both one and many. He borrows the Pauline analogy of the body which compares Christ to the head, the elect his body, and the Holy Spirit as "the spirit of life that act[uat]eth Christ's body" as a metaphor for Antichrist. Antichrist thus possesses a head which is Satan himself, a body which includes all reprobate professors--"the synagogue of Satan" is not just the Roman Catholic church--and a soul which is "the wicked spirit of iniquity" (II,46). Antichrist is allowed certain freedoms because the church of Christ must be tested in order to bear witness to her Lord, and the devil was permitted to make use of the church of God "to midwife this monster into the world" (II,46). Bunyan follows tradition in his opinion that the Antichrist, in the final reckoning, is subject to God's will and destined to be destroyed, no matter how powerful or godlike his posture. (II,47) The soul of the Antichrist will be destroyed by the brightness of Christ's coming, but Bunyan is careful to say that he believes this destruction by Christ is a gradual process: "not only his presence, but an increase of light by his presence...until the whole is rooted out of the world" (II,47). And the means to be used to accomplish this are the spirit of Christ and his word in the church. This leads, of course, to a historical perspective, and Bunyan sees the destruction of Antichrist having begun in the Reformation:

> ...do but look back and compare Antichrist four or five hundred years ago, with Antichrist as he is now, and

> you shall see what work the Lord Jesus has begun to make with him, even with the spirit and soul, and life of Antichrist. (II,48)

He goes on to rejoice in the "kingdoms and countries" that have been taken away from Antichrist: England, Scotland, Holland, Germany, France, Sweden, Denmark, Hungary and other places all resist him. (II,48) A curious anomaly is Bunyan's notion that Antichrist's soul must first be slain before his body. The body itself does not only consist of the idolatrous practices of the Roman church (although he roundly condemns "matters of worship in Antichrist's kingdom", at some length and in no uncertain terms), but also "those civil laws which impose and enforce them...yea, that enforce that worship with pains and penalties, as in the Spanish inquisition" (II,50). No mention of the Huguenots at this point, and perhaps this reflects the forlorn hope that the Edict of Nantes will not actually be revoked. Bunyan does rejoice that England is free from the severer penalties which may be exacted for Protestant beliefs, for "who is now afraid of the act of burning of those that papists call heretics, since by the king and parliament, as by the finger of God, the life and soul is taken out of [Antichrist]," (II,50) and he goes on to pay tribute to those Tudor monarchs who supported the Protestant cause:

> ...the noble king, king Henry VIII did cast down the Antichristian worship; so he cast down the laws that held it up: so also did the good king Edward his son. The brave queen, queen Elizabeth also, sister to king Edward, hath left of things of this nature, to her lasting fame behind her. (II,50)

No mention here either about the Elizabethan law that served to imprison him in 1660!

Antichrist has not been entirely routed in England, though there is much ground for encouragement. But not until his downfall is complete will the thousand year binding of Satan begin. Bunyan depicts the blissful state of those who will look back during the millennium and see Antichrist identifiable only by ruins, a matter for historical comment. Rid of their servitude to Antichrist, of their own free will, "men shall come flocking to the house of God" (II,54) as in The Holy City. But before these halycon days, before the final downfall of Antichrist, Bunyan prophesies one brief last furious onslaught against Christ's church, when the church will be deprived of all support in the world:

> Wherefore, let God's people consider and remember that when God's church is absolutely forlorn, and has no hiding place any longer in the world, the kingdom of Antichrist will quickly begin to tumble..................................
> I say, therefore, that this is a sign, not of the downfall of Antichrist, but of the approach thereof: for the church's bondage shall continue but three days, and a little after this [shall be her deliverance]. (II,60)

Despite all that kings have done to advance the destruction of Antichrist, for "if the preacher kills her soul...the king kills her body" (II,61)--the feminine pronoun here indicates he is talking about the Roman Church as the Great Harlot of Revelation--the church will lose the support of kings. This is certainly a black outlook, and Bunyan can only console his readers that this time will be mercifully short. Nevertheless, "There shall, for a time, be no living visible church of Christ in the world: A church, but no living church, as to church-state: A church in ruins, but not a church in order" (II,68).

Bunyan knows very well that his interpretation of the slaying of the Witnesses mentioned in Revelation 11 will not find universal favour. To embark on any interpretation of the apocalypse is, in any case, to invite controversy, and he concedes that "many good men have writ more largely of this matter: but I have not seen their books, so I walk not by their rules" (II,67). And certainly there are many different interpretations of the slaying of the Witnesses. John Canne, the ardent Fifth Monarchist, in 1657 disputes a common notion that it means a time of bloodshed and civil war, during the three and a half years the Witnesses lie dead, and, "by witnesses [he understands] not persons but a Generation testimony" and he claims "it is the Truth that suffers, rather than persons for it."[21] Henry More, who believes that the Fifth Monarchy started with the Reformation, writes in 1681 that the Witnesses are the martyrs of the Reformation and "upon the Rising of the Witnesses....the Kingdoms of the world were become the kingdoms of the Lord and of his Christ."[22] Ultimately, of course, because Antichrist's downfall is assured, Bunyan's outlook is as bright as More's, and the Bedford preacher, gloomy prognostications notwithstanding, avers that "the church is now at the rising of the year; let then the blasts at present, or to come, be what they will, Antichrist is assuredly drawing towards his downfall" (II,81-82). Bunyan will not be drawn into the debate of just when these things might be expected to happen, because the saints have been so often mistaken in the past, "to the shame of them and their brethren" (II,59), and yet there is a slight indication that it might all come about in his lifetime in the use of the first person plural pronoun: "Now since she is dying, let us ring her passing-bell; for when she is dead, we that live to see it, intend to ring out" (II,59).

Had he lived to see the Glorious Revolution one might speculate that his dark surmises about the Slaying of the Witnesses might not have been included in Antichrist and His Ruin, but, in any case, these posthumously published millenarian treatises, on the whole, follow the pattern laid down in his first radiant vision of The Holy City (1665). Dating these works as having probably been written between 1680 and 1686 makes for a better understanding of the prose fictions written in this dark decade. The treatises amply demonstrate the author's renewed interest in writing about the millennium, and nothing could be more natural than a carry over of these ideas into his fictive work, which, as will be argued, was precisely the case.

Chapter 6

Christ and Antichrist: The Holy War

Bunyan's _Holy War_ (1682) has never enjoyed the popular acclaim so freely bestowed on the _Pilgrim's Progress_ (1678, 1684)--a fact often noted by commentators if they attempt to explain why the former merits greater attention than it has received hitherto. Certainly the reading public in Bunyan's lifetime were indifferent to it: those who had embraced his "Pilgrim" so enthusiastically that it ran to three editions in the first year were in no hurry to buy the later work. Only two English editions appeared before Bunyan's death in 1688; the second, published in 1684, is mutilated, and may have been pirated.[1] It is at least within the bounds of possibility, that, had it not been for Bunyan's reputation as creator of _Pilgrim's Progress_, the _Holy War_ would have followed many similar didactic seventeenth-century works into relative obscurity. This is not to say the book has not had admirers as well as detractors in the last three hundred years. Macaulay's well known comment that "if the _Pilgrim's Progress_ did not exist [it] would be the best allegory that ever was written"[2] may seem excessive adulation, but G.B. Harrison, another respected and judicious critic, goes even further and claims it to be "the greatest English allegory judged as a work of art."[3] E. M. W. Tillyard lends the weight of his scholarly reputation by insisting that in the _Holy War_ "Bunyan came nearer than he ever did to creating a great organic work of art,"[4] and that it deserves the appellation "England's Puritan epic".[5] The editors of the definitive 1980 Oxford edition, Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest, come close to agreeing with Tillyard in describing the Holy War as "an ambitious work with a power and sweep in its continuous narrative that certainly entitles it to be called an epic."[6] All this informed criticism is a force to be reckoned with, yet it is not hard to find many prepared to discount it. They are more than willing to concur with Edward Dowden's opinion that the book is a "construction not a vision,"[7] or are prepared like Henri Talon to confess they found it "a heavy work,"[8] or go still further and agree with William York Tindall that it is "a confusing book."[9]

Much of the criticism, both favourable and unfavourable, focusses on the structure of the Holy War. There are those who find the plot repetitious as well as wearisome and feel Bunyan would have been well advised to close his narrative after Emanuel's initial reconquest of Mansoul. J. A. Froude claims that it is "here, as a work of art, the Holy War should have its natural end."[10] Henri Talon's view is similar: he says, "the book should close on this vision of a regenerated world; it would gain in compactness."[11] There can be no quarrel with such a self evident conclusion, but the question remains as to whether or not Bunyan's structure carries his vision in an aesthetically satisfying way. It is striking that the very thing critics like Froude and Talon object to is precisely what others find most pleasing about the work. J. F. Forrest points out that "Tillyard has shown the great architectonic skill in Bunyan's fashioning of the structure, and has brilliantly perceived how the unlaboured start of a fresh movement, as in the quiet and casual introduction of Mr. Carnal Security, has a formal affinity with Shakespeare."[12] Christine Sizemore has done an admirable analysis of Bunyan's structure and shown how events in the two "halves" of the book are specifically paired and paralleled on the basis of a fivefold division of the book of Revelation.[13] This, of course, would support a definite millenarian interpretation of the work, but presupposes that Revelation, for Bunyan, was readily divisible into five distinct parts.[14] If that presupposition is dismissed, however, Christine Sizemore's methodical approach to the work's structure still remains a valid and fruitful one. This elaborate and carefully planned structuring of the Holy War is certainly unlike Bunyan's more usual reliance on a ready and profuse flow of ideas crowding his imagination and demanding to be set down on paper--"they again began to multiply,/Like sparks that from the coals of fire do fly"--and may help to account for the apparent lack of productivity between 1680 and 1682. Roger Sharrock feels the careful structuring is evidence that the Bedford preacher had become "the self-conscious writer" who, in producing "the typical second novel" strives too hard to surpass the first so as not to disappoint the expectations of either publisher or public.[15] In passing, it might be noted that the Holy War is, of course, Bunyan's third major piece of prose fiction:

Mr. Badman was published in 1680. Sharrock's comments are pertinent because he sees Bunyan here aiming too high in his endeavours to "provide at the popular level the equivalent of a heroic subject treated in the grand manner."[16] Phrased in less urbane language, Henri Talon estimates the book "a partial failure," for it is merely a "rehashing for the populace, and in prose, the epic that Milton had told to an elite."[17]

It would be difficult to resist Talon's implication that Bunyan's writing was directed to the "lower classes" and thus his readership confined mainly to them. True, the Pilgrim's Progress did delight sectarians who, more often than not, were artisans, yet one of the remarkable things about Bunyan's materpiece, something that surprised even the author, was how it immediately took hold of the imaginations of all sorts and conditions of men. If anything, the more elevated language and the more sophisticated structure of the Holy War might indeed suggest its being directed towards a more select audience, and this certainly may be one of the reasons that its popularity lags behind that of the more famous predecessor. Nevertheless, there are still enough lively episodes delivered in Bunyan's inimitable colloquial style to attract most readers and assuredly that would have been the Bedford preacher's primary aim. Another reason advanced for the book's limited appeal is that the traditional Christian image of warfaring as opposed to wayfaring simply lends itself less well to the exigencies of the human predicament, and thus the element of surprise in plot development is lost. As a corollary to this, it is claimed the wider canvas of the Holy War allows little room for the character development novel readers have come to expect, and something Bunyan exploited to good effect in Pilgrim's Progress and Mr. Badman. One critic who considers the war metaphor less satisfactory than that of the journey is C. S. Lewis, and he finds in this the reason Pilgrim's Progress "is a better book" than the Holy War:

> The journey has its ups and downs, its pleasant resting places enjoyed for a night and then abandoned, its unexpected meetings, its rumours of dangers ahead, and, above all, the sense of its goal at first far distant and dimly heard of, but growing nearer at every turn of the road. Now this represents far more truly than any combat in a "champ clos" the perennial strangeness, the adventurousness and the sinuous forward movement of life. 18

A similar view is entertained by Sharrock who points out how the war allegory necessitates characters taking sides with either Shaddai or Diabolus thus making their behaviour as predictable as the eventual outcome is inevitable. A contrary stance, however, is maintained by Forrest who argues compellingly that "an allegory that treats of arms and man, of man in arms, can never be very restrictive."

> In the fortunes of war, sudden alarums and excursions may often give place to quiet diplomacy, lengthy negotiations, truces, uneasy peaces between hostilities--to periods, in short, where tension is markedly relaxed, and where the allegorist, if he so chooses, can conveniently deal with the underside of the moral life, triumph as well as defeat, hope and joy as well as despair

and anguish.[19]

Moreover, he sees extreme character "polarization" where moral issues are never in doubt as being advantageous, finding "black and white" to be invigorating rather than stultifying: "the sharp demarcation of good and bad is by no means always a defect--else wherein lies the strength of popular myth and folk-tale?"[20]

Allegory as a vehicle for either poetry or prose fiction became largely unacceptable to the generations succeeding Bunyan's. Even Spenser, who was out of favour with the Romantics, needed Hazlitt to apologise for him.[21] While The Pilgrim's Progress could not be ousted from its secure niche, less well known works were bound to be depreciated. Doubtless the decline of Calvinism and the triumph of Arminianism along with the spread of Methodism also may have contributed to the general lack of interest in the Holy War, but I would contend that the supplanting of millenarian notions by the widespread and dogmatic belief in progress after the end of the seventeenth century played a major part in making the Holy War first less relevant and then less intelligible even to Bible-loving Victorian Christians. Today, nineteenth-century distaste for allegory has been replaced to some extent by a new appreciation of its aesthetic possibilities. Melville, Hawthorne and Poe are meeting with fresh critical appraisal, as are Kafka, Joyce and Beckett. Forrest cites the current vogue for Bergman and Fellini films as evidence of "the renewed popularity of allegoria as a fruitful artistic procedure,"[22] but along with this we do well to note Rosemund Tuve's reminder that we have lost the habit of reading "a language of images" because we have largely lost the common body of knowledge rooted in the classical and Christian religious traditions which gave them birth.[23] What remains is a thin vein of former allegorical riches, and although poets like Eliot and Pound have attempted to mine it more deeply for us, the difficulties attendant on explicating their poetry are sufficient testimony to the truth of Tuve's observation. Bunyan, too, suffers as a result of the disintegration of our western traditions and the imaginative void that exists when either biblical allusions or biblical allegories are presented, although within the Christian church his Pilgrim is as popular as ever.

The finer points of allegoria may well baffle the modern reader, but the elemental conflict between good and evil is readily recognised and responded to. Hence Bunyan's pitting of Emanuel[24] against Diabolus, Christ against Antichrist in the Holy War is perfectly comprehensible, even if its millenarian significance is obscure. Nor is the modern reader at a loss confronted by the multitudinous personifications of Vice and Virtue, for to a generation vitally concerned with gaining insight into the self and the many psychic "personalities" that inhabit even one human breast they are no strangers. The current vogue for using popular psychological terminology to describe states of mind and human relationships, coupled with the success of films like the Starwars series where good and evil are clearly defined, attest to modern knowledge of, and interest in, at least some of what goes into the allegorical substance of the Holy War If, therefore, neither the man-in-the-street nor the informed critic is ignorant of the essential constituents of Bunyan's allegory, it is not unreasonable to hope it may belatedly enjoy the acclaim some critics feel it thoroughly deserves. Christine Sizemore shares J. F. Forrest's optimism, and says, "The twentieth century critic who has grown up with Waiting for Godot is thus not an ineligible candidate for the re-evaluation of Bunyan's Holy War. Replace the twentieth century critic's existentialism with the seventeenth-century Puritan's attitude towards allegory, and he is well equipped for the task."[25] To which might be added the twentieth-century's disenchantment with the idea of secular progress as a sovereign remedy for all mankind's ills, a fact which may leave more readers receptive to giving a sympathetic consideration to the all-encompassing millenarian structure of the book.

There is a substantial difficulty remaining, though, in that twentieth-century existentialism is far removed from the sectarianism of Bunyan and his contemporaries. The intricacies of Christian theology informing much of the allegory may remain remote and mysterious. Furthermore, it is a matter for regret that even when the implications of Christian doctrine are grasped, some may still fail to make the imaginative leap to try to apprehend the extent to which the Puritan's stalwart faith influenced his life and conduct.

Agreed that it is impossible for anyone to understand fully the seventeenth century's climate of opinion, but to consider, as William York Tindall does, that after all Bunyan had suffered for the sake of his faith he would deliberately fabricate the structure of the Holy War to titillate the elect sectarians of the Baptist persuasion is surely to show a deliberate and obtuse bias. Tindall's contribution to Bunyan scholarship has perhaps been the most noteworthy of this century, but his contention that the Holy War is "an allegory of conversion, but to indulge the more sedentary Baptists whose displeasure with the Fourth equalled their delight in the Fifth Monarchy, Bunyan followed the progress of rebirth in the imagery of the millennium"[26] clearly calls Bunyan's integrity into question. The remark is nicely calculated to raise hackles, as indeed is the pervasive patronising tone of his work. Henri Talon draws attention to it, saying, "by his constant irony, the American professor insinuates that Bunyan, loyal to this tradition [that is, the tradition of mechanick preaching] was a clever writer rather than a sincere autobiographer."[27] Nevertheless, Tindall's assumption that the Holy War is "an allegory of conversion" would meet with widespread critical approval today, yet he himself undermines his own stance by stating categorically that the work's "object was millenarian."[28] He makes three different attempts to explicate the millenarian imagery that permeates Bunyan's allegory, obviously regarding it as highly significant and comes nearer than any other critic to seeing the millenarian nature of the work. Tindall's own researches, of course, made a substantial contribution to our current appreciation of just how widespread seventeenth-century millenarianism was, so it is really somewhat surprising to find this assertion that Bunyan's Holy War was primarily aimed at a small group of people whom Tindall assumes to be directly involved with the aspirations of the Fifth Monarchists and with whom, as Tindall himself points out, Bunyan as a "mild" chiliast would surely have had little sympathy. Bunyan's near repudiation of the title "Baptist" during his controversy with the closed communion congregations a decade earlier, however, suggests that although he might well have written for their edification as well as that of other Christians, he would scarcely have undertaken to bolster doctrinal ideas about the millennium that he in no way shared merely to ingratiate himself with them. It is remarkable, though, that Tindall's preoccupation with the millenarian ideas which he considers to be present in the Holy War by deliberate design on the author's part, do not allow him to give millenarianism the allegorical precedence he intuitively feels it deserves. Perhaps this is because of his recognition that Bunyan was only a "mild chiliast," but more importantly it stems from his failure to take into account just what Bunyan's millenarian beliefs actually comprised.

Like most critics, Tindall discerns several layers of allegory in The Holy War, not all of them present at the same time.[29] Henri Talon, too, sees conversion as the major theme, along with the "symbolic story of the fall and resurrection of man, an account of Bunyan's time, and, a prefiguration of the New Jerusalem."[30] E. M. W. Tillyard accepts the same four, but Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest are somewhat hesitant in ascribing much importance to "the New Jerusalem," finding there are "at least three different levels, those of Christian or world history, of the life of the individual soul, and of recent and contemporary English history; there may also be detected a fourth level of millenarian history relating to the events described in Revelation."[31] To these four William York Tindall adds a fifth, that of ecclesiastic history, but, as was indicated above, the millenarian strand for him assumes a much greater role than it does for most critics. Clement Wyke is alone in seeing only one level of allegorical meaning intended by Bunyan, that of conversion.[32] However, the view that conversion is the over-riding allegorical figure in The Holy War is generally agreed upon. Undoubtedly, Bunyan always has conversion and sanctification close to his heart, but these themes are not dominant here: the work has much too broad a scope for that to hold true. In the light of Bunyan's strong interest in the subject, precisely at the time he was writing this book, I would argue that, in fact, the millenarian strand is the most important one. Millenarianism gives the work its over-riding structure and its aesthetic unity. Critics have repeatedly drawn attention to the epic sweep, and it is obvious that some of them have felt uncomfortable with slotting the allegorical significances into a such a structure. William York Tindall's repeated efforts to harmonise them is a good indication of the discomfort he feels. But he is handicapped by his premise that mechanick preachers are necessarily, as a class, antagonistic to the political, social and economic status quo in England, and by his lack of understanding of what Bunyan believed about the millennium. He rightly recognises the importance of the millenarianism in the allegory, making no less than three attempts to fit it to the plot,[33] yet none is completely satisfactory. His exasperated conclusion that the work is "confusing" is understandable. If, however, it is allowed that the overriding allegorical device is that of celestial warfare as it is recounted in the Bible, structure and allegory complement each other perfectly. Seen in this way the Holy War presents no "confusion," but an orderly progression from Genesis to Revelation. The interpretation offered here depends, of course, in accepting Bunyan's own views on biblical narrative, apocalyptic tradition, and church history, all of which enable him to incorporate the millennium into a consistent cosmic history. In its scope it is far more ambitious than even Milton's. And, incidentally, this may provide the real reason why the book never sold as well as Pilgrim's Progress--in the seventeenth century almost every believer had his private version of the millennium!

Bunyan, doubtless, would be surprised by the amount of controversy engendered by his war allegory, for like any other good Puritan he sought to follow standard Reformation practice in stressing first the literal sense of the biblical text which in the case of the Holy War is historical. The movement away from allegorical interpretations of the Old and New Testaments in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been occasioned by the patent absurdities promulgated by many mediaeval commentators which led Bible translator William Tyndale to expostulate, "the order and process of the text...served but to feign allegories upon; insomuch that twenty doctors expound one text twenty ways."[34] Protestant reformers who sought final doctrinal authority in the Bible obviously had no wish "to feign allegories", but they were in a dilemma since the questionable mode was authenticated by the word of God itself. However, a new way was found both to accommodate and contain it. Luther urged allegorical interpretations be used sparingly and with certain restrictions:

> And I admonish you with utmost earnestness, seek to be diligent in appraising historical matters. But if ever you wish to use allegory, do so observing the analogy of faith; that is, accommodate it to Christ, the church, faith and the ministry of the Word.[35]

Bunyan heartily endorsed such a method; without it he would have published no fiction at all. Calvin, too, had to give judgment on the matter and examined what the Bible itself had to say about it. In his Institutes he observes that "whenever God gave a sign to the holy patriarchs it was inseparably linked to doctrine, without which our senses would have been stunned in looking at the bare sign."[36] For Bunyan and his fellow Protestants the teaching implicit in the rite of circumcision--the sign enjoined by God upon Abraham--is the physical separation of Israelite from Gentile, the holy nation from the profane, and they saw in the Bible itself the enlargement and deepening of the sign as Moses gave the "blessings and curses" to the people of Israel (the passage that inspired Bunyan's poem "Ebal and Gerizim". There is, in the sign, the assurance of God's goodwill towards his people if they choose to follow him, and the rite takes on an deeper spiritual dimension: "The Lord your God will circumcise your hearts and the hearts of your descendants, so that you may love him with all your heart, and with all your soul, and live" (Deut.30.6). The prophet Jeremiah uses the same image to convince the Israelites they should turn away from idolatry, stressing their free will in the matter: "Circumcise yourself to the Lord, circumcise your hearts" (Jer.4.4). The idea carries over into the New Testament. Circumcision of the heart is now related to the new birth and baptism that distinguish believer from unbeliever: "In him you were also circumcised, in the putting off of the sinful nature, not with a circumcision done by the hands of men but with the circumcision done by Christ, having been buried with him in baptism and raised with him through your faith in the power of God, who raised him from the dead" (Col.2.11-12). To draw on all these meanings in the sign of circumcision is acceptable Protestant doctrine because there is nothing here that contradicts orthodox Christianity. The Reformers and the Puritans after them were in agreement that the essential harmony of both Old and New Testaments enabled one passage to be used to shed light on another. Every major doctrine was to be based on the testimony of the Bible as a whole. The commonplace Protestant maxim that the Bible is the best commentary on itself could never have arisen had it not been for this development of the "analogy of faith" where all levels of allegorical meaning are encompassed within the literal level, or, as Christine Sizemore puts it, "the literal level contains the variety and depth of the allegory."[37] The practice of sixteenth and seventeenth Biblical expositors to treat God's dealing with Israel throughout the Old Testament as "an analogue of the soul's history" or church history was not confined to Baptists, Quakers or other sectarians.[38] It was, and still is, well-established Protestant teaching.

Bunyan and other mechanick preachers were being neither churlish nor obscurantist in considering their Bibles superior to any other learned source. Still less was it an inverted form of snobbery or class resentment as Tindall implies.[39] They did not despise help with the text when such assistance was available: Bunyan had his commentary and used it to advantage. Sectarian expositors could draw on current Protestant allegorical practice to "inform, please and move" their hearers, and they still had access to the earlier fourfold interpretation of Scripture, for the English preaching tradition strongly depended on it. As was mentioned earlier, Bunyan was intimately acquainted with Martin Luther's Commentary on Galatians where the fourfold concept is ably expounded, but, as G. R. Owst makes clear, the Bedford preacher was, in any event, heir to mediaeval practice still current in the Anglican sermon tradition he was exposed to in his youth.[40] John Owen, distinguished scholar, preacher and Bunyan's friend and admirer, speaks for his seventeenth-century Protestant contemporaries as he comments on Paul's letter to the Galatians in which the apostle explicitly sanctions the use of allegory:

> ...where a place of Scripture directly treats of one thing, it may, in the interpretation of it, be applied to illustrate another which hath some likeness unto it....We call them allegories; so doth our apostle expressly...Gal.iv.21-26. Having declared how the two covenants, the legal and the evangelical, were represented by the two wives of Abraham, Hagar and Sarah; and the two sorts of people, even those that sought for righteousness by the law and believers, by their children Ishmael and Isaac; he adds that these things are an allegory....But the truth is, he doth not call the things themselves an allegory, for they had a reality, the story of them was true; but the exposition and the application which he makes of the Scripture in that place is allegorical--that is, what was spoken of one thing he expounds of another, because of their proportion one to another, or the similitude between them. 41

"Similitude" is one of Bunyan's favourite expressions but, as the title of his most famous allegorical work suggests, he does not confine its meaning to allegory alone:

The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to that which is to come delivered under the similitude of a Dream, Wherein is discovered the manner of his setting out, his dangerous journey, and safe arrival at the desired country. For Bunyan, the word "similitude" encompasses a broad spectrum of more specific literary terms including, "types, figures, similes, metaphors, analogies, exempla and parables."[42] The verb "to allegorize" is used in his treatises to elicit numerous meanings from the text as he collates one part of the Bible with another and elaborates on biblical imagery, greatly expanding and strengthening it in the process--"setting forth one image by another."[43] Seeking to justify his allegorical fictions in *Pilgrim's Progress* to those who would countenance no fiction at all, in "The Author's Apology for his Book" he makes it clear he believes this, too, is divinely sanctioned: "I find that Holy Writ in many places/Hath semblance with this method, where the cases/Doth call for one thing to set forth another." The treatises demonstrate his active seeking of hidden meanings because he firmly believes them to be there; they await the moment in God's great plan for mankind when they will be divinely revealed to the true church, and "things hidden from the foundation of the world" are accessible to the believer with a humble and contrite heart. Just as the truth about Christ was perceived by a simple fisherman enlightened by the Holy Spirit, so the faithful mechanick preacher may be given power to "see" the truth of God's word. Indeed, the fervent millennial expectations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries would have received no credence but for the underlying, unshakable Protestant conviction that "fresh light and truth" would break from the Scriptures to illumine each succeeding generation which earnestly sought them.

But if Bunyan delighted in "similitudes" they had to be "similitudes" that edified Christ's church. He loved riddles, but a riddle was useless if not probed, solved and relished. So he confidently proffers his "Key" in the preface to his Holy War, urging his reader to use it, "Nor do thou go to work without my Key,/...And also turn it right if thou wouldst know/ My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plow./ It lies there in the window." And "window" is glossed "The margent". The complete title of the work leaves no doubt as to his purpose: The Holy War made by Shaddai upon Diabolus, For the Regaining of the Metropolis of the World. Or, the Losing and Taking Again of the Town of Mansoul. The reader also has Robert White's emblematic frontispiece to suggest an interpretation of the work with the multiple levels of allegory inherent in "the holy war" of the Bible. Standing before the walled "Towne of Mansoul", with its five gates symbolising the five senses, is the figure of Bunyan, the words "Heart Castle" inscribed on his breast. The figure of Christ and his forces of light flank him to his left, and Diabolus, a black dragon rampant, along with his host of dark demons are on his right. The "holy war" is, therefore, the collision of "mighty opposites," Christ and Antichrist; Mansoul is both the battleground and the prize. Thus the whole sweep of cosmic history according to the biblical record lies before the reader at a glance: "epic" is assuredly the appurtenant description. That such a war be depicted in apocalyptic imagery is inescapable, for only in the last book of the Bible does Christ fight the dragon. Tindall's intuition that the book's "object was millenarian, its scene the Holy City, which in 1665 had achieved its insubstantial destiny in the vehemence of Bunyan's applause" is, in substance, correct.[44] The image of Mansoul as a municipality works perfectly to convey the millennial implications of its destiny. Tindall, again, rightly focusses on the millennial significance of Bunyan's choice of names for Christ and God: "Emmanuel or Emanuel, as Bunyan has it, was the king under whom Isaiah had predicted the success of the chiliad...to a sectarian of Bunyan's time Emanuel meant Jesus in His capacity of governor of the world."[45] Tindall's assumption that only sectarians would view Jesus in this capacity we now know to be erroneous. He goes on to say, "the choice of Shaddai for God is of equal appropriateness in a millenarian context...Shaddai is the Hebrew God of power and vengeance."[46] Bunyan's familiarity with the Old Testament, and his identification of the true church of Christ or elect as being the new Israel of God, a typically Protestant idea, would certainly often turn his thoughts, particularly during the dark days of persecution, to where the text celebrates God in his role of deliverer and avenger of the helpless. Some of the most magnificent poetry of the Bible, such as the ancient "Song of the Sea," depicts God in this role of Warrior, one who has miraculously preserved his defenceless people against insuperable armed might:

> The Lord, the Warrior--
> Lord is his name!
> Pharaoh's chariots and his army
> He has cast into the sea;
> And the pick of his officers
> Are sunk in the yam sup.
> The deeps covered them;
> They went down into the depths like a stone,
> Your right hand, O Lord, glorious in power,
> Your right hand, O Lord, shatters the foe!
> In Your great triumph You break your opponents;
> You send forth your fury, it consumes them like straw.
> The floods stood straight like a wall;
> The deeps froze in the heart of the sea
> ....
> You will bring them and plant them in Your own mountain,
> The place You made to dwell in, O Lord,
> The sanctuary, O Lord, which Your hands established.
> (Ex.15. 13-17)

The response of Moses and the children of Israel to Shaddai's deliverance of them from Pharaoh is, quite properly, praise and adoration. Generations of believers whose hopes have been buried in the ashes of affliction have had them rekindled by the promise of redemption and the New Jerusalem, but their quoting of Old Testament precedent of God's wrath being visited on oppressors does not automatically make them enemies of the state as Tindall seems to think. As has been shown above, Bunyan frequently reminded his readers that their active participation was required to bring about the New Jerusalem, but that activity was spiritual, not physical; the one contribution saints were required to make to God's plan was to live lives commensurate with their election: God will build the New Jerusalem by means of his own choosing. Bunyan believed that God would use converted kings to bring it about, a belief which brings to mind the hopes of the secular "philosophes" of the following century and their trust in "enlightened monarchs" to bring advancement to their peoples.[47]

Rather surprisingly, (for he usually sees the Bedford preacher as being a somewhat inveterate and unscrupulous borrower of other men's ideas) Tindall discounts some other possible sources often cited as those Bunyan might have drawn on for his *Holy War*. He says, "the walled city of Mansoul came not from Bunyan's own military experience nor from his perusal of Bernard but from the Fifth Monarchy tradition of his day, immediately from his own "*oly City* and ultimately from the Book of Revelation."[48] If this were amended to read "ultimately from the Bible, particularly the book of Revelation" it would come close to the argument to be presented here, although it would have to be coupled, of course, with the renewed interest we have seen Bunyan to be taking in writing again about the Holy City in the early part of the 1680's. The pursuit of the "castellum" image in this instance has been something of a red herring, leading scholars to bind the imagery too tightly to the mediaeval Psychomachia, something Bunyan was certainly familiar with and drew on to good effect. But both *The Holy City* and the *The Holy War* are indebted not just to seventeenth-century millenarianism and the book of Revelation, vitally important as these are, but to the entire Bible and particularly the Protestant method of Scriptural exegesis. The Holy City promised the children of Israel, the "sanctuary in your own mountain" is, for Bunyan, the same Holy City promised the new Israel of God, the church, the Bride of Christ; it is the place where St. John the Divine saw "the Lamb standing on Mount Zion" (Rev.14.1). Obviously, then, Bunyan has a vast treasure house of images to draw on for his allegory, and as Forrest has observed, his biblical vision is far wider and deeper than even a Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained together.[49] The Holy War is an extraordinary undertaking for the so-called uneducated tinker. Having sensed accurately that Bunyan is linking the The Holy War (1682) to the earlier The Holy City (1665), it is strange that William York Tindall continues to insist "conversion" is its "main allegorical subject."[50] It would seem that Tindall's reading of Bunyan's millenarian treatises leads him to conclude that Bunyan hoped and expected an actual theocracy like that envisaged by the Fifth Monarchists. In addition, his anxiety to demonstrate Bunyan's affinity with other seventeenth-century mechanick preachers (for which all Bunyan scholars owe a debt of gratitude) forces him to place the Bedford preacher securely within the social milieu of the many artisans who were, in fact, Fifth Monarchists, some even Fifth Monarchy Men, instead of with the many sober millenarians amongst whom John Owen and Oliver Cromwell can be counted. This is strange, given his recognition of Bunyan as "a mild chiliast."

The failure to identify the precise nature of Bunyan's millenarian hopes leads to Tindall finding The Holy War "a confusing book." To recognise Bunyan's millenarian expectations for what they are, not merely apocalyptic, certainly not connected with the violence of the Fifth Monarchy Men, yet concrete in the splendid vision of a progressive enlightenment of mankind through the peaceful spread of the gospel of Christ leads to seeing the The Holy War an even more unified and ambitious work than has previously been thought. C. S. Lewis in A Preface to Paradise Lost suggests that "the first qualification for judging any piece of workmanship from a corkscrew to a cathedral is to know what it is--what it was intended to do and how it was meant to be used,"[51] and he goes on to say that an appreciation of Milton's magnum opus must start with a study of epic in general. It is a pity that so many, including C. S. Lewis, do not ask the same question about Bunyan's intention in writing The Holy War. Critics who have compared it unfavourably with the Pilgrim's Progress have sought the same things in both works and been chagrined to find them lacking. Those who have approached The Holy War on its own terms as a biblical epic find the book marvellously rewarding and are consequently enthusiastic about its admirable qualities. To date, however, the millenarian theme has not been linked securely to the biblical history it is undoubtedly part of; consequently, the conflict inherent in the process of conviction, justification, and sanctification has been overplayed to the detriment of Bunyan's magnificent conception of encompassing all the subsidiary themes, including conversion, under the over-riding and unifying vision of the celestial conflict.

We know Bunyan intended clarity. In the Pilgrim's Progress the wayfaring metaphor carried the Christian "Everyman" experience perfectly. In The Holy War a far more ambitious theme is carried by the metaphor of conflict, but the warfare is primarily between Christ and Antichrist: Mansoul has a vital role to play in this great battle for precedence in the universe; conversion of individual believers is assuredly part of it, but Bunyan's other prose fictions do not suggest he was interested in writing the same book over again; like any other gifted writer he had other ideas to explore and methods to convey them. The intention and ramifications of Bunyan's work were plain to his seventeenth-century contemporaries. The early emulation of it in Benjamin Keach's Progress of Sin (1684) serves "to illuminate the millenarian nature of his model."[52] However, millenarianism in any serious theological sense is so far removed from twentieth-century thought generally (although as we have seen, it is alive and well in some evangelical and fundamentalist circles), that it is comparatively easy to put it aside and confine the warfare to that within the Christian soul, and, important as that is, The Holy War is infinitely wider. As millenarian expectations faded in the eighteenth century, dissatisfaction grew with Bunyan's so-called "digression" in this book--his depiction of biblical history in the fall of Satan and man before going on to tackle the central allegory of conversion. But that "digression" is integral to the millenarian character of the work. It may well be, as Wilbur Smith claims, that, apart from the Bible itself, no pen can do justice to this cosmic theme, not even in Milton's superb poetry, but for those like Wilbur Smith who feel the neglect in The Holy War of the central doctrine of Christianity, the atoning work of Christ in the crucifixion,[53] it may be helpful to reconsider the work with the centrality of the millenarian warfare image in mind.

Certainly one of the difficulties inherent in treating The Holy War primarily as an allegory of conversion rests in the fact the author goes to some length to portray Mansoul initially not as unregenerate man in a state of nature as one would anticipate, but man in his original state of Edenic innocence. It is often dismissed as evidence either of Bunyan's ineptitude or desire to cater to sectarians with millenarian leanings, and most critics favour the former view (no work or art is perfect); only Tindall explores the latter view in any depth. However, when the work is seen with the full millenarian implications, the importance of the confict between Christ and Antichrist, Emanuel and Diabolus, naturally falls into the foreground. Bunyan's "fair and delicate Town" (HW7) of Mansoul boasting "the best, most wholesome, and excellent Law that then was extant in the world" and without "a Rascal, Rogue, or Traiterous person then within its Walls" because the inhabitants "were all true men, and fast joyned together" (HW9) is not simply an opening gambit, but essential plot strategy. The narrator arrives at this description after a leisurely opening that appears to promise an authentic (because first-hand) travel tale about the "gallant Country of Universe" (HW7). Bunyan's persona is so enamoured by it he would have chosen to remain there "had not my Master sent for me home to his House..." (HW7). Bunyan's ploy here may simply be that of gaining his reader's attention by offering the exact opposite of what the title leads him to expect--conflict. In addition, lack of overt didacticism creates "worldly" expectations of the typical travel and adventure tale, of wonders met abroad far from the highways and byways of England, cunningly laid out in order to catch "him whom a sermon flies." Bunyan is swift to dispel the first illusion in the early identification in the marginal "Key" of the "Master" as Christ, leaving no doubt as to either the identity of the mighty protagonist or the position of power that he holds. This is not the "suffering Servant" of Isaiah in the humility of mortal dress, but Christ at the right hand of the Father whose trusted servants hasten to do his bidding. Bunyan's use of the angelic messenger as persona is an astute one, for it ensures an engaging commentary on human actions, far above mortal comprehension, even as it anchors the story firmly in the human arena. The reader is never allowed to forget this narrator's witnessing of events, and his down-to-earth and sometimes ingenuous remarks lend verisimilitude and immediacy to events that might otherwise have been stereotypes of the

Psychomachia:

> ...it made me laugh to see how old Mr. Prejudice was kickt and tumbled about in the dirt. For though a while since he was made Captain of a Company of the Diabolonians, to the hurt and damage of the Town; yet now they had got him under their feet; and I'll assure you he had by some of the Lord Understandings party, his crown soundly crackt to boot. (HW61)

It may be claimed that the raciness of the narrator's recollections are at odds with the epic intention and the overall elevated style of the work, but readers who relish Bunyan's gift for homely idiom may find that this adds an additional zest to the tale without in the least detracting from its seriousness.

To this lively narrator, then, is given the task of introducing Emanuel, and since he was not party to the early historic events he assures the readers they are being passed on from "the best, and most Authentick records I can gather"(HW8). If any reader should still be confused here, the margin keeps him informed that biblical history (Scriptures) will furnish the substance of Bunyan's narrative. The Genesis story of the creation of man is allegorized by Bunyan as Shaddai's building Mansoul "for his own delight" (HW8). Bunyan still follows Renaissance practice in placing the city of Mansoul "between the two worlds" (HW8), but he gives precedence to the Genesis record in calling attention to man's dominion over the lesser creation:

> as he [Shaddai] made it goodly to behold, so also mighty to have Dominion over all

> the Country round about. Yea all was commanded to acknowledge Mansoul for their Metropolitan, all was injoyned to do homage to it. Ay, the Town it self had positive commission, and power from her King to demand service of all, and also to subdue any, that any ways denied to do it. (HW8)

Man's first estate is materially well provided for, and Bunyan's concept of the millennium, as we have seen, although rightly calling attention to spiritual fullness, inevitably has as its concomitant a better life on this earth for all--and that with divine sanction. In the final analysis, his ideas have a similar outcome as those of Bacon. But the origin of Bunyan's millenarian view is thoroughly biblical: it is the continued rage of Antichrist that prevents a fuller, although not perfect, restoration of man's first estate. But the demonic is not to blame for the fall of man. Like Milton, Bunyan accords man in his original innocence a will that is entirely his own: "For here lay the excellent wisdom of him that builded Mansoul, that the Walls could never be broken down, nor hurt, by the most mighty adverse Potentate, unless the Towns-men gave consent thereto" (HW8). J. F. Forrest has drawn attention to this insistence of Bunyan's that "freedom is to choose,"[54] and Roger Sharrock, too, sees something uncalvinistic in Lord Willbewill's "romantic independence...which tinges the purity of Calvinist doctrine with a Pelagian streak."[55]

Man's free will is no match for his cunning adversary. The narrator introduces Satan in a way that reminds us of the folk-tale: "Well, upon a time there was one Diabolus, a mighty Gyant, made an assault upon this famous Town of Mansoul, to take it" (HW9). We soon learn that "the mighty Gyant" Diabolus is Satan, for we are given the biblical explanation of the archangel who fell from his original high estate as "Son of the morning." He had originally ruled "a brave place" which "bought him much glory" until his inordinate pride led him "to think with himself, how he might be set up as Lord over all, and have the sole power under Shaddai" (HW9). The millenarian nature of the narrative is immediately apparent as it is stressed that the Antichrist arrogates Christ's power to himself. Aided by his evil cohorts, Diabolus's attempt on the throne of the Almighty is directed not on Shaddai but "upon the Kings Son to destroy him, that the Inheritance might be theirs" (HW10), but this is foredoomed to failure because "the King [did reserve that] for his Son, yea, and had already bestowed it upon him" (HW9). The eternal co-existence of an omnipotent, omniscient triune God is underlined as "the King, and his Son being All, and always Eye, could not but discern all passages in his Dominions..." (HW10). Thus Bunyan draws on both Old Testament and New Testament theology for the root cause of the celestial conflict--the "Holy War." Diabolus and the other fallen angels being cast out "of all place of trust, benefit, honour, and preferment" (HW10) and "fast bound in Chains" are, nevertheless, free to move and range "in much fury from place to place (if perhaps they might find something that was the Kings) to revenge, by spoiling of that..." (HW10). In The House of the Forest of Lebanon

(1692) Bunyan has more to say about these things, basing his argument on millenarian evidence from the nineteenth chapter of Revelation:

> Christ is a priest to save, a prophet to teach and a king to rule his church. (Is.xxxiii.22) But this Antichrist cannot bear, therefore he attempts to get up into the throne himself, and to act as if He were one above all that is called God, or that is worshipped. (III,517)

The divine permission accorded Antichrist in allowing him to prowl from the precincts of hell to Mansoul for the testing of the town's allegiance is implied but not dealt with in any depth in the Holy War: Shaddai has no dealings with Diabolus; that is left to Emanuel, but it is clear that the heavenly prerogative extends to allowing Diabolus what amounts to a free hand for a limited time if Mansoul is not inclined to honour its first allegiance. Bunyan's demonic personages retain their traditional powers of metamorphoses to deceive mankind. As Shakespeare's Hamlet well knew, "the devil hath power/T' assume a pleasing shape," and Bunyan uses this in his version of the conclave in hell that plots the downfall of Shaddai's "fair town." Sharrock observes that it is well-nigh impossible at this point not to recall Milton's Paradise Lost, but it is not at all certain if Bunyan had read the great Puritan poet's masterpiece. He would have more probably encountered the same idea through Keach's version of the Miltonic epic which was more likely to have come his way. Other sources are possible, and, of course, the free movement of Satan between Heaven and Hell along with the divine permission to test man is amply demonstrated in the book of Job. It might be interpolated here how adamant Bunyan is that Diabolus, arch villain of the piece, retains no vestige of his former glory but is "both poor and beggerly" (HW9). Indeed, the reason the demons give for rejecting the second of their fiendish plans to seduce Shaddai's city, "to go and sit down against Mansoul" (HW11), is that their now "ragged and beggerly" appearance would put the Mansoulians on their guard, because "they did never as yet see any of their fellow Creatures in so sad, and Rascal condition as they" (HW11). The point is sometimes made that Bunyan the artisan delights in making his villains appear as aristocrats, his heroes as humble men. In this confrontation between the richly attired and powerful prince Emanuel and the "beggerly" Diabolus the converse is only too plain. That Diabolus chooses to disguise himself is necessary to Bunyan's tale: the choice of a dragon rather than the serpent of Genesis sustains the folktale motif, "for that he was in those days as familiar with the Town of Mansoul as now is the bird with the Boy. For nothing that was in its primitive state was at all amazing to them" (HW12). However, the use of this image also does much to underline at the outset the millenarian character of the war. It is the dragon in Revelation that makes war on the Woman and the Lamb (usually identified as the true Church and Christ), and in Revelation 20.2 the dragon is directly associated with the Genesis account of the fall--"the dragon that old serpent." Significantly, Bunyan has Diabolus approach Mansoul "as if he had been a Lamb" (HW14), that counter image of Revelation that represents Christ. Predictably, the Diabolonian plot succeeds as Captain Resistance is shot and killed by Tisiphane, one of the three classical Furies Bunyan, rather surprisingly, incorporates in his book; so it follows that Lord Innocency dies: his aristocratic title, too, might be noted.

The state of Mansoul now represents unredeemed humanity. The understanding is darkened and the stifled conscience is as variable as a weathercock. It is often claimed that in the Diabolonian remodelling of the town Bunyan is also criticising Charles II's attempts to secure acquiescent municipalities which would in turn produce a more malleable Parliament; as far as Bedford itself was concerned, Charles II did not grant a new charter to Bedford until 1684, well after the publication of the The Holy War. It is entirely possible and even probable Bunyan is using current events in England to add flavour to his allegory, but it going too far to actually identify characters in the allegory, such as Mr. Conscience the Recorder, as being Robert Audley the ousted Recorder of Bedford, on the basis of his professed admiration for sectarian preaching. Bunyan's realistic characterizations and settings have led to much speculation about possible real identities and locales, but without hard evidence it does not assist us much in understanding his allegories. He makes it clear in Mr. Badman (1680) that he has had the opportunity to become familiar with many different kinds of people; like any other wise author he simply makes use of the material he has to hand to depict what he knows to be true of human nature. He is an acute observer of the human condition, he sees that "all persecutors are not brutish alike, some are in words smooth as oil, others can show a semblance of reasons of state, why they should sell the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes" (Am.II.6). To imply Bunyan is concerned about the possible effect of political change on the church is one thing. To magnify it into a major preoccupation is to do violence to his profession of faith and role as Christ's minister. Throughout his work Bunyan is careful to keep worldly events in their proper Christian perspective: the saving of souls and the edifying of the church are his prime concerns:

> We are apt to place our hope somewhere else than in God, when persecution ariseth because of the word. We hope that such a man, or that such outward means may prevent our being swept away with this flood. But because this confidence is not after God, but tendeth to weaken our stedfast dependence on him. (II,474)

It is hard to believe that the impending changes in the Bedford corporation would disturb Bunyan to the degree he would see fit to allegorize them so specifically. His whole adult life had been spent in an atmosphere charged with political tension, insecurity, and civil war. His twelve-year imprisonment, after all, had been enforced under the old charter of the Bedford corporation; sound burgesses there may have been during that time, but few dissenting Christians, and none was able to help the nonconformist preacher. Bunyan was only too well aware that the actions of kings and parliaments and municipalities might help or hinder those on the celestial king's highway; but he was equally sure that social reformation comes about through the actions of redeemed individuals in society, so ultimately, in his view, change for the better could only come about through the spread of the gospel. He would have thought faith in political legislation entirely misplaced. Bunyan's biblical view of world history saw every throne and dominion, even Diabolus himself, as finally subject to the jurisdiction of the divine will, so he is able to caution and encourage the church as we have seen in his Exposition on the First Ten Chapters of Genesis (1692) by saying, "though it be too much below a Christian to place his confidence in men, yet when God shall raise up a Josias or a Cyrus we may take encouragement at this working of God" (II,477). Church and state are seen by Bunyan as separate entities before the millennium, although he persists in his belief that the millennial kingdom will come about as the result of elect princes in a way that seems to echo Luther. However, even if the new Diabolonian charter is not a specific reference to contemporary English history it does serve well to make the point that the church, or godly individual, can and does suffer as the result of unjust authority. Allegorically, the new charter Diabolus grants Mansoul works best to convey the unregenerate state of all the human race before the first outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the primitive church.

As the scene shifts from Mansoul with its inhabitants blithely pursuing the primrose path to perdition under the Diabolonians' expert guidance, the millenarian framework is extended to encompass a consultation in Heaven between Shaddai and Emanuel as to how best to recover their lost town. The conflict between Christ and Antichrist is foreshadowed by the description of Emanuel as "a Sweet and comly person, and one that had alwayes great affection for those that were in affliction, but one that had mortal enmity in his heart against Diabolus, because he was designed for it, and because he sought his Crown and Dignity" (HW29). There are strong millennial overtones to the New Testament covenant as it is promulgated in Heaven--the end is seen as surpassing the beginning:

> ...the Son of Shaddai the great King, is ingaged by Covenant to his Father, to bring his Mansoul to him again; Yea and to put Mansoul too, through the power of his matchless love, into a far better, and more happy condition than 'twas in before it was taken by Diabolus. (HW29)

As Diabolus becomes aware of this grand design, his parody of Christian discipleship becomes more evident. Just as the Christians Paul addresses in Ephesians are advised to put on "the whole armour of God" so Diabolus initiates his infernal counterfeit. His followers don the helmet of universal salvation, the sword of the tongue of hellfire, the Shield of unbelief, and the iron breastplate of hardness of heart, "as much past feeling as a stone" (HW34), to wage war on the forces of Shaddai. The marginal reference for the "iron breastplate" is Rev. 9.9, a text depicting the satanic hordes of locusts emerging from the Abyss to make war on the church and "on their heads they wore something like crowns of gold, and their faces resembled human faces. Their hair was like women's hair, and their teeth were like lion's teeth. They had breastplates like breastplates of iron." This reference to Revelation is reinforced as the conquered Mansoulians thus accoutred are addressed by Diabolus as "my Lyon-like men of Mansoul"(HW35).

Bunyan now proceeds to skilfully outline biblical history, and the Puritan process of conversion can now be discerned within it. Shaddai chooses not to send his son with the first army: "he thought good at the first, not to send them [his forces] by the hand and conduct of brave Emanuel his son, but under the hand of some of his Servants, to see first by them the temper of Mansoul" (HW36). The description of this expedition makes it seem as if Bunyan is recalling the parliamentary forces of the Civil War period, for the conduct of the forces is reminiscent of Cromwell's insistence upon his army's good behaviour: "they marched through the Regions and Countries of many people, not hurting, or abusing any, but blessing where ever they came. They also lived upon the Kings cost in all the way they went" (HW38). The four captains' names, Boanerges, Conviction, Judgment and Execution do exemplify the process of Puritan conversion, and the army itself represents the godly led by their ministers of whom Diabolus is "greatly afraid" (HW39). Their names and emblems, however, just as clearly indicate the Old Testament history of the law and the prophets. Captain Conviction has a "Scutcheon [which] was the Book of the Law wide open, from whence issued a flame of fire" (HW37). Captain Execution's emblem of the "fruitless tree with an Ax laying at the root thereof"(HW37) recalls Christ's own words of judgment on Israel as the establishment of the new Israel of the church is taking place. Despite the best efforts of Shaddai's army, Mansoul controlled by Diabolus is impregnable and further help is sought from Shaddai. Only then is Emanuel sent with another army, and he retakes the town. From the historical point of view it is interesting that there is no direct mention at this point of the crucifixion, the historical fact that always lies at the core of Bunyan's teaching. In addition to being the rightful heir of Shaddai, Emanuel here is depicted as having already paid the price for the town. He claims "'Mansoul is mine by right of purchase'" and goes on to address Diabolus:

> Wherefore when Mansoul had sinned indeed by harkening to thy lye, I put in and became a surety to my Father, body for body, and soul for soul, that I would make amends for Mansoul's transgressions; and my Father did accept thereof. So when the time appointed was come, I gave body for body, soul for soul, life for life, blood for blood, and so redeemed my beloved Mansoul. (HW75)

Bunyan chooses to portray Emanuel, Christ, not in his office of prophet, priest, or scapegoat, but as king of his people--the redeemed, the Church, the elect of both Old and New Testaments. Millenarian history is the history of the church. It is "the redeemed of the Lord [who] shall return and come with singing unto Zion and everlasting joy shall be upon their head" (Is.51.11). So, along with the elect of ancient Israel, it is the redeemed of the primitive church, the fruit of apostolic preaching in all its purity and grace when seen in retrospect by the Reformers, that Bunyan depicts in Emanuel's first conquest of Mansoul. Diabolus is "tyed to his Chariot-wheels!" and the Mansoulians exult that their Prince "hath led captivity captive" (HW93). Significantly, after this triumph, it is the Townsmen's desire that not only "Prince Emanuel with his Captains and men of war would dwell in Mansoul for ever" but that "his battering Rams and Slings [that is, the Bible] might be lodged in her for the use and service of the Prince and for the help and strength of Mansoul" (HW111). In Bunyan's opinion, one shared by most of his contemporaries, for as long as the early church adhered to the word of God, just so long was her worship pure.[57] Emanuel clothes the freely forgiven Mansoulians in "white and glistering robes, fine linnen white and clean"--another image from Rev.19.8--not an apocalyptic image, but a millenarian one, for it is possible that the Mansoulians can sully their robes--a thing obviously not possible in heaven. However, despite Emanuel's victory and the trial and punishment of the Diabolonians, Mansoul cannot be restored on earth to its original innocence. It is possible for Mansoulians to besmirch their robes; it is possible for them to fall prey to the lurking Diabolonians, despite the warnings from their Prince:

> Oh my *Mansoul,* I do warn you of that of which notwithstanding that reformation that at present is wrought among you, you have need to be warn'd about: wherefore hearken diligently unto me. I am *now* sure, and you will know *hereafter* that there are yet of the *Diabolonians* remaining in the Town of *Mansoul; Diabolonians* that are sturdy and *implacable,* and that do already while I am with you, and that will yet more when I am from you, study, plot, contrive, invent, and jointly attempt to bring you to desolation, and so to a state far worse than that of the *Egyptian* bondage.... (HW144)

Mr. Carnal Security does bring the "Summer" of "harmony, quietness, joy and health" (HW150) to an end. He had been "unroosted" when Emanuel conquered the Town, and "feigned that he would serve the Prince against his foes" (HW151). Instead, by *"magnifying their Captains, and their slings, and their rams; then crying up their fortifications, and strong holds; and lastly the assurances that they had from their Prince, that* Mansoul *should be happy for ever"* (HW151) he succeeds in gulling the Mansoulians into putting their trust in these things rather than their Prince, and the love of the Mansoulians becomes lukewarm and then cold. While carnal security can draw away the individual believer, there are many other sins as likely or more likely to take hold. Carnal security, according to both Martin Luther and Bunyan, is peculiarly the besetting sin of the church, not the individual believer--an added argument for the book's historic millenarian structure. Not only does this apostasy allude to the warnings given to the seven churches of Asia in

Revelation, but it also symbolises the carnal security of the church once it became the state church under Constantine. In Emanuel's gradual departure from Mansoul, the parallel with the vision of the Shekinah glory gradually departing from the Jerusalem temple in another millenarian prophecy, that of Ezekiel, is unmistakable, and this vision is one Bunyan draws attention to in "The Holy City" (III,405). The Mansoulians, like the rebellious Israelites, are hardly aware of it until Mr. Godlyfear eventually stirs up Mr. Conscience and other Mansoulians to arrest Mr. Carnal Security and they "burned his house upon him with fire" (HW157). The state of Mansoul now represents the apostate Roman Catholic church seeking a renewed spiritual life prior to the Reformation, as well as a backslidden individual believer or congregation. The continual petitions by the faithful few to a seemingly unmoved Emanuel are rejected: "decayed in their faith and love, Emanuel their Prince has given them the back..." (HW173). Ironically, it is Diabolus rather than the Mansoulians themselves who sees their prayers are unavailing because "They did neglect reformation" (HW180). But the true church, nevertheless, in that "long that sharp that cold and tedious winter" continues praying to Emanuel, and these prayers only appear to be unheard. As Bunyan points out in *The Holy City* the true church is never quite extinguished under the Roman Antichrist; the Diabolonian attempt to retake the town, therefore, can never wholly succeed, for the Castle with Mr. Godlyfear as Keeper of the Gates holds out against him.[58]

Diabolus comes nearest to recapturing the Town as he drives the Mansoulians to despair of God's love towards them, that most heinous of Christian sins in either the individual or the Church:

> ...the poor Town it self was in a sad and woful case, partly because they had grievously offended Shaddai and his Son, and partly because that the enemies thereby got strength within them afresh, and also because though they had by many Petitions made suit to the Prince Emanuel, and to his Father Shaddai by him for their pardon and favour, yet hitherto obtained they not one smile; but contrariwise through the craft and subtilty of the Domestick Diabolonians their cloud was made to grow blacker and blacker, and their Emanuel to stand at further distance. (HW171)

With Mansoul in these dire straits the Diabolonians are hopeful she will open her gates to them again of her own accord, "when she sees her self utterly forsaken of her Prince" (HW175). Diabolus becomes impatient, however, "to devour the miserable Town of Mansoul" (HW175) and decides to lead the army of Doubters against it. While despair and doubt do go hand in hand in the life of the individual believer and are meant to be thus allegorically understood, this is secondary to the primary meaning; clearly they are "The sad fruits" (HW204) of an apostate church. An individual's faith (Luther was a prime example) cannot but be affected by the general spiritual decline. Thus on the historic level Bunyan has the Doubters stand for the absence of sound doctrinal teaching on those matters considered to be of prime importance by the Reformers: election, vocation, damnation, faith, perseverance, resurrection, salvation, glory, and eternal felicity. When the Doubters overrun all of Mansoul save the Castle, "nothing for a while...could be heard but the direful noise of Hell fire; [the Diabolonian battlecry] together with the roaring of Diabolus's Drum" (HW204). The drumming which strikes such fear in the hearts of the citizenry is glossed as "the devil roaring like a lion, seeking whom he would devour." Mr. Prywell, "a lover of Mansoul" (HW181) has been responsible for unearthing the Diabolonian designs and setting up some resistance to the Doubters, but now he has to take refuge in the Castle with its few loyal defenders. In the Town "every corner swarmed with outlandish Doubters; Red-coats, and Black-coats, walked the Town by clusters, and filled up all the houses with hideous noises, vain Songs, lying stories and blasphemous language against Shaddai and his Son" (HW205). The dress and behaviour of these Doubters symbolize what Protestants perceived in Roman doctrine and practice. But despite all, the true church walled up in the Castle is not idle, for the defenders of the faith "did hold them in continual play with their slings [Biblical teaching] to the chafing and fretting of the minds of the enemies" (HW206). This is a succinct summing up of the effect of early Protestant doctrine on the Catholic Church. The stubborn resistance of the godly against Diabolus and the army of Doubters causes the Diabolonians to withdraw from the Town "into the Plain" (HW215), a ruse to lure those in the Castle from safety.

Meantime, the beleaguered few have sent Captain Credence with yet another petition to Emanuel and, at long last, they receive encouragement and commendation from their Prince.[59]

The millenarian hopes of a suffering, waiting, praying church are sympathetically depicted in Captain Credence's assurances after visiting Prince Emanuel; the Mansoulians *"shall see the Prince in the Field to morrow"* (HW219), which raises their downcast spirits "like oyl to a flaming fire"--a metaphoric repetition of the emblematic situation Christian saw in the House of Interpreter. Bunyan's account of the ensuing battle is perhaps the most moving passage of the whole work. As the battle against overwhelming odds is joined, the remmant of the faithful Mansoulians are joyful in the expectation of their Prince. The wounded Captain Experience awes the enemy by appearing on the field on his crutches, and in the thick of the fighting a Mr. Speedy reaches Captain Credence with the wonderful news that Prince Emanuel is "at hand:" "Now when they had been in heat of battel about an hour or more, *Captain Credence* lift up his eyes and saw, and behold *Emanuel* came, and he came with Colours flying, Trumpets sounding, and the feet of his men scarce toucht the ground, they hasted with that celerity towards the *Captains* that were engaged" (HW222). Emanuel's victory and triumphant return to the town, "all the streets strewed with lillies and flowers, curiously decked with boughs and branches from the green trees that stood round about the Town" (HW224), do not deter Diabolus from one last onslaught using an army of Doubters and Bloodmen. This episode, coming on the heels of the victory, concurs with Bunyan's oft repeated statement that the Antichrist will not be overcome all at once.

The inclusion of the Doubters with the Bloodmen from the point of view of millenarian history is a masterly stroke, for Diabolus is portrayed as having "mighty confidence in this army of Bloodmen, who, "like Mastiffs, would fasten upon any, for he put a great deal of more trust in them, than he did before in his army of Doubters..." (HW229-230). His army of Doubters had been bested by the faithful Mansoulians (HW228), and consequently he has little faith in their prowess: the remainder are to be used only to bring up the numbers and "to help if need was at a pinch" (HW228). The progress reformed doctrine had made towards "restoring buried truth" and bringing about the millennium is, as we have seen, made very clear in Bunyan's millenarian treatises, and as he has his Doubters now scarcely counting as adversaries, the restoration of true doctrine has obviously gone a long way. The Captains of the Bloodmen comprise the persecutors of the true church from the dawn of Biblical history: Cain, Nimrod, Ishmael, Esau, Saul, Absalom, Judas and, finally, Pope (HW228-229). The inclusion of the last along with the Biblical personages is an unmistakable reinforcement of Bunyan's millenarian theme. The head of the Roman Catholic church is the servant of Antichrist and, like the others, the sworn foe of the Israel of God. Interestingly, Emanuel does not take the field against the Bloodmen; he leaves his

Captains to face them alone. The Bloodmen foolishly assume "when they saw that no Emanuel was in the field, concluded also no Emanuel was in Mansoul" (HW233) and despise rather than fear their Mansoulian opponents until they are routed by them. Their defeat does not necessarily result in their being punished. The ignorant from Blindmanshire and the superstitious from Blindzealshire who ask for mercy are freely pardoned: only those from the town of Malice and who still desire the defeat of Mansoul are bound over to answer for their misdeeds at the Day of Judgment (HW234). Bunyan's catholicity has been noted above, and this further evidence of a warm and charitable spirit demonstrates how wide Bunyan's sympathies are, a rare thing in any age, but highly unusual on the part of one who might have been expected to display at least some animosity towards his persecutors while safely under the guise of allegory.

After the trial of the Doubters "Mansoul did arrive to some good degree of peace and quiet" (HW235) and with this Bunyan broaches his vision of the millennium. It is never to be a state of Edenic bliss, for sin is present in the human breast even during this halycon period: "some few more of the subtilest of the Diabolonian tribe" (HW244) remain hidden in "their dens and holes." These are the "home-bred" Diabolonians. Neither Emanuel's first nor second coming has brought about original innocence; that must wait until his third coming which he promises in his long closing address to the Townsmen. Only then will the town of Mansoul be removed to the heavens where perfection will be restored. Since the

Bible records only one appearance of Christ with the promise of a second coming, Bunyan's two appearances of Christ with the mention of a third is surely grounds enough for calling this book "confusing." Why would Bunyan, familiar more than most with the Bible, interpolate a third coming of Christ? Certainly conversion and sanctification can not explain this in orthodox terms. Once converted, the elect soul may backslide, but Christ is never lost. The only explanation lies in Bunyan's own view of millenarian biblical history. In the Holy War he does not mention the historic physical presence of Christ on earth at all, and we know from his treatises against the Quakers how strenuously he affirmed the historic Christ "son of Mary". It is taken for granted that Christ has paid the price on the cross for the redemption of mankind, but the actual gospel events are not dealt with. Emanuel comes to Mansoul only as Prince and Conqueror. Bunyan's depiction of Mansoul as elect mankind is an allegorization of millenarian history, and the church includes the elect in the Old as well as New Testament. There are two special outpourings of Christ's spirit, in Bunyan's view. The apostolic church whose doctrine could not err was initiated by the pouring out of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost and continued until the church became a licit organization in the reign of Constantine. This true doctrine was corrupted by the Roman church and the Papacy. Bunyan counted the minute true church as being in captivity to the Antichrist until the dawning of the Reformation.

With the Reformation he saw the beginning of another outpouring of the Holy Spirit that would culminate in the church being restored to her first pristine splendour, Antichrist bound, for the space of the millennium; this period would end with the personal return of Christ to judgment. Emanuel, in his long speech to the Townsmen is inaugurating the millennium. Emanuel's coming to Mansoul for a second time results in the chaining of Diabolus in hell; he has redeemed Mansoul "from the hand of Diabolus" (HW247) and what Diabolonians remain are "home-bred." Sin during the millennium will remain, because man is still beset by his sin within, but it cannot be fanned by Diabolonian guile. This can never the the case before the millennium, another reason that Bunyan's theme is not primarily conversion and sanctification; until that time the Devil is a "roaring lion" seeking whom he can devour. If the "old nature" causes trouble in the saints during the millennium it must be borne, because thereby the church is tested:

> O my Mansoul, should I slay all them within, many there be without that would bring thee into bondage; for were all those within cut off, those without would find thee sleeping, and then as in a moment they would swallow up my Mansoul. I therefore left them in thee, not to do thee hurt, (the which they yet will, if thou hearken to them, and serve them) but to do thee good, the which they must if thou watch and fight against them. (HW249)

Bunyan's millenarian treatises lay down a specific timetable for the setting-up of the millennium, and, as we have seen, his biblical historic perspective sweeps from the creation and fall of man in Genesis to the heavenly redemption in Revelation. To set his timetable for these events against the Holy War is to recognize that this book is predominantly a millenarian allegory. Conversion and sanctification are subordinate themes; it is the millenarian structure that gives the work the epic sweep critics admire. The fact that Bunyan was again writing about the millennium in the 1680's lends additional weight to the argument that it plays a major role both in this work and the second part of Pilgrim's Progress.

Chapter 7
The King's Highway: Millenarianism in *The Pilgrim's Progress*

Three hundred years have passed since Bunyan's famous Pilgrim set out on his travels, to the delight of countless readers, young and old, rich and poor, simple and wise. But it must at once be conceded that *Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684), along with the Bible, has lost ground as Western culture has become increasingly secularized.[1] Yet if it cannot be denied that this work's influence on the ordinary reader is now much diminished, nevertheless, it remains true that it retains its secure place in Christian circles as the most popular book after the Bible itself. Even a cursory inspection of the numerous up-to-date English and foreign language editions at the Bunyan Museum in Bedford confirms this. Christians of all persuasions take its continuing popularity for granted. Bunyan's pilgrims accurately mirror the normal Christian's experience in the search for salvation and, having found it, the travail that ensues as the "old" creation wrestles with the "new"; thus it is not at all surprising that succeeding generations continue the demand for this lively but reverent depiction of life on the road to the Celestial City. It is more debatable as to why the work remains so firmly ensconced in the canon of great English literature and, as J. F. Forrest and Richard Greaves aver, it is not likely to be unseated.[2] Whatever its charms, (and they are many), its uncompromising biblically based didacticism is all too often greeted by equal mixtures of condescension and scorn. Attempts to explain the Pilgrim's continuing hold on the modern imagination range from exploration of those "romance" elements so hotly defended by the author,[3] to investigation of the dream allegory with its surrealistic settings.[4] What the book owes to the archetypal journey motif is also proffered as an explanation of its extraordinary ongoing appeal.[5] Yet it is perhaps more as a seventeenth-century forerunner of the upcoming dominant literary form, the novel, with its realistic characterizations, dialogues, and settings, that justifies its inclusion in university curricula.[6] Social historians can and do commend it as providing a fascinating glimpse into the lives of ordinary people in the latter part of the seventeenth century,[7] and feminist critics find the lot of the Puritan woman as Bunyan depicts it of paramount interest.[8] All these critical stances are proof, if any is needed, of the book's rich diversity, something that in itself makes for rewarding reading.

Interest in its Calvinist and Pauline theology has been somewhat revived in recent years, which is encouraging.[9] The French theologian is usually remembered in the twentieth century only as a champion of the New Testament doctrine of predestination and the father of modern usury, and the apostle Paul as the distorter of Christ's teaching and the denigrator of women. Bunyan's theology, which in any case owes almost as much to Luther as Calvin,[10] is undoubtedly responsible for sustaining the book's aesthetic unity, and lends it the beauty of a well-turned vase. For many, it is this sense of completeness that makes The Pilgrim's Progress so fully satisfying. But illumination of particular facets of the book or even taking many of them into account, still fails to furnish a complete explanation as to how and why Bunyan's masterpiece continues to be regarded as a great work of art today, and one is driven back on the often voiced suggestion that such a work can only be the product of literary genius. It will survive because it possesses an intrinsic power to engage the minds and captivate the affections of new readers. At this point it becomes irresistible to draw a parallel between Bunyan's famous Christian and Conrad's infamous Kurtz. Just as "all Europe" has gone into the shaping of the latter's evil genius, it can be legitimately claimed that all Western Christendom has gone into the shaping of his antithesis, Bunyan's Pilgrim. The author's own lineage, dating back to Norman times, is a notable one, and, poor as the family had become by the time John Bunyan was born in 1628, the Bedford tinker, nevertheless, sprang from hardy yeoman stock with a rich heritage of English thought and tradition at his disposal, not least the strong Bedfordshire preference for the Reformed faith; and all this, too, has gone into the making of his Pilgrim. T. R. Glover's remark that "The Pilgrim's Progress is one of those books that will survive its own theories"[11] seems remarkably apposite.

As a seventeenth-century dream vision The Pilgrim's

Progress was already an anachronism, but this is an aspect of the work that has received its share of critical attention over the years, and the indebtedness of *The Pilgrim's Progress* to its mediaeval forebear is frequently remarked on. The dream vision genre, of course, was heavily indebted to biblical and classical sources. From *Grace Abounding* (1666) we know how seriously the author himself took dreams as a means of revelation, and quite apart from his use of the dream as a general framing device, some of Bunyan's own beliefs about them are vividly translated to the fictive work. In the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, for instance, Christiana is both warned of impending danger and comforted by a heavenly vision in a dream. But the first person narrator who "dreamed a dream" and recorded the adventures of Christian and Christiana is the classic character who himself immediately arouses our attention and makes us "see" the disconsolate Christian on the surrealistic plain before the City of Destruction. The Pilgrim in Part I does not really gain our affection until it becomes apparent he possesses all-too-human faults and foibles. Christian cannot "see" the Wicket Gate even when it is pointed out to him, and when pressed to do so, only "thinks" he may be able to see "yonder shining light".[12] His predicament is one most have found themselves in at some time or another: pride and embarrassment preclude the honest admission that one still does not see or understand something that has been explained with great care. Haste and frowardness are the qualities that prevent Christian seeing either the safe steps through the Slough of Despond or the wiliness in Mr. Worldly Wiseman's suggestion that the Pilgrim forsake the path before he has properly got started. Christian's subsequent chagrin is something with which the reader readily identifies, and at this point it is easy to transfer allegiance from the beguiling Dream Narrator to the Pilgrim. The Dreamer's presence, however, does reassert itself from time to time, often with telling effect. As Christian and his friends sit talking about "the Lord of the Hill" in the Palace Beautiful, there is something wistful in the eavesdropping Dreamer's comment that their tales of Christ "made me love him the more" (52). There is a real sense here that he is excluded from this warm company, a mere gazer from without, and this reinforces the warmth of the fellowship that Christian is part of within. Again, the Dreamer's intense longing is depicted as he peers through the Gates into the Celestial City after Christian and Hopeful and sees them join the "many men with crowns on their heads, palms in their hands and golden harps to sing praises withal"--a description that is reminiscent of Bunyan's millenarian Holy City (1665). His words are poignant: "I wished my self among them" (162).

With these reminders of his continuing presence, Bunyan's Dreamer not only resembles his mediaeval counterpart, but also to some extent can be compared to the imprisoned visionary on Patmos. Bunyan, indeed, evokes the book of Revelation in the very opening lines where "den" is glossed "prison". The Patmos dreamer's ingenuous questions and remarks, as well as the anguish he records, "I wept much, because no man was found worthy to open and to read the book, neither to look on it" (Rev.5.4), have parallels in Bunyan's Dream Narrator. But the vision of Bunyan's Dreamer is as firmly rooted in earth as that of St. John the Divine's is in heaven. However, in the continuous use of apocalyptic language and imagery, the association of the first part of _The Pilgrim's Progress_ with the book of Revelation and other apocalyptic writing is so striking as to be worth examining. On the very first page, Christian shares his fears with his wife and children that the world they know is coming to an end:

> I am for certain informed that this our City will be burned with fire from Heaven in which fearful overthrow, both my self, with thee, my wife, and you my sweet babes, shall miserably come to ruine. (8)

Christian is fearful of this certain death because the book he is reading tells him he is not "fit to come to Judgement" (9); the burden he bears will ensure that he sink "lower then the Grave; and [he] shall fall into Tophet"(10). Death will not mark the end but the beginning of a greater misery. The stern apocalypticism of the first part of _Pilgrim's Progress_ stands in marked contrast with the benign millenarianism of the second. The remarkable difference between Part I and Part II has been explained in many ways over the years by many scholars,[13] but I will argue that Bunyan's deliberate movement from an eschatological to a millenarian stance provides the most satisfactory interpretation of the dissimilarity between the two parts of the book.

That the tension so evident in the earlier half derives most directly from its eschatological theme has been directly stated or strongly implied by many critics. It is widely believed that Bunyan's own terrifying conversion experience, prompted by fears of judgement like those that dogged Christian, has been transmuted into his major fictive work from his spiritual autobiography, Grace Abounding (1666). The absence of millenarianism in the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress certainly serves to confirm this, for, as was observed above, his spiritual autobiography displays no evidence of his millennial ideas. Attention has also been drawn earlier to the considerable amount of biblical apocalyptic material present in Grace Abounding, especially that drawn from Revelation. Terrifying thoughts of the four last things helped drive the young Bunyan towards his search for and acceptance of salvation by grace alone. Just as the author's own forebodings as to his probable standing on the Day of Judgment spur him towards seeking the certainty of his salvation, he has his Pilgrim enact symptoms of the same frantic state of mind as he desperately seeks security. Both parts of The Pilgrim's Progress draw much in the way of language and imagery from apocalyptic writing, but the absence of any definite reference to a millennium in Part I is rather surprising. With the publication of The Holy City in 1665 we know the author entertained well-developed millennial ideas before he undertook to write of Christian's pilgrimage. I have not found a critical view that would date Part I any earlier than 1666, although there is considerable divergence of opinion as to the probable date of its composition. Many critics consider the major portion to have been written during Bunyan's first imprisonment, probably between 1666 and 1672, and that the work was completed during his second imprisonment in 1677.[14]

In Part I of The Pilgrim's Progress, Bunyan's pilgrims look forward to a Celestial City: a Holy City on earth forms no part of their expectations or desires. Christ is depicted in his role as King of Glory who, when he comes the second time, will come to judge the living and the dead. The saints will play their part in the Last Judgment, and then are destined to reign in eternal bliss with Christ. The eschatology that pervades the book, as has been said, is responsible for much of its tension, and this, more than anything else, provokes the suspense that gives Part I much of its popular appeal. Each character progresses to a final destination, be it Heaven or Hell. There are some who will reign forever with Christ in the Celestial City: others will share eternity with Apollyon in the Bottomless Pit. The very idea of hell is, on the whole, repugnant to modern minds, and this may be why the certainty of the Last Judgment is insufficiently regarded as being responsible for much of the gripping excitement of Bunyan's tale, although C. S. Lewis advances his opinion that "the book would be unmeasurably weakened as a work of art if the flames of Hell were not always flickering on the horizon."[15] There is no slackening of this fear until the Dreamer awakes. Almost the last words of the book are "there [is] a way to Hell, even from the Gates of Heaven, as well as from the City of Destruction" (163). As F. R. Leavis points out, however, it is possible to find *The Pilgrim's Progress* "stirring" reading "without any thought of its theological intention."[16] The creating and sustaining of reader suspense is, of course, fundamental to the art of story telling, and Bunyan proves himself no mean craftsman as he uses apocalyptic themes to evoke it.

The four last things, then, death, judgment, heaven and hell, shape much of the first part of Bunyan's tale, and it follows that although there is no direct reference to a millennium, there is much accomplished with apocalyptic imagery. Apocalyptic thoughts drive the Pilgrim towards grace; they keep him on the narrow path, despite all that demonic powers can do to entice him from it. They comfort Christian in his trials, for visions of the Celestial City beckon even in the midst of prison and martyrdom. While it is not the fear of death that propels Christian from the City of Destruction so much as fear of what would follow, death itself is still a terrifying thought. After he has been turned aside by Mr. Worldly Wiseman Christian is sunk in misery because now he "looked for nothing but death" (24): he already knows what Hopeful reminds him of later in Giant Despair's dungeon, there is no "ease in the grave" (115). Even so, death remains a fearsome enough prospect, and when the time comes for Christian's "silver cord to be loosed" not for him the easy departure of Mr. Badman who died as "quietly as a lamb." Christian and Hopeful are "much stounded" when they discover they must cross the deep River as best they might. Thus the ever-present fear of dying does not altogether recede for the pilgrims, although Bunyan does show how it comes to be viewed rather differently as the pilgrims pursue their way. Faithless pilgrims, like Timorous and Mistrust, refuse to pass the lions that "are placed...for a trial of faith" (45-46) before the Palace Beautiful lest they "pull [them] in pieces" (43). Christian's modicum of faith leads him to another conclusion: "To go back is nothing but death, to go forward is fear of death, and life everlasting beyond it." No longer fearing judgment, though full of trepidation at the thought of being mauled to death, he decides, "I will yet go forward" (43).

Some days afterwards, having overcome the monster Apollyon in the Valley of Humiliation, and just as he is about to enter the fearsome Valley of the Shadow of Death, Christian encounters another pair fleeing in fear of their lives. In response to his anxious query as to where they are going, they yell a warning: "Back, back, and would have you to do so too, if either life or peace is prized by you" (61). Knowing that the valley is a place of horror, that "death also doth always spread his wings over it" (62), Christian again chooses to go forward, claiming, "this is my way to the desired Haven" (96). He confesses to Faithful just how terror stricken he had been: "I thought I should a been killed there, over, and over" (75). It would not have been an unexpected fate, for "at the end of this Valley lay blood, bones, ashes, and mangled bodies of men, even of Pilgrims"(65). The two giants, Pope and Pagan, had taken their grisly toll of pilgrims in times past. At this juncture Bunyan's strong historical sense comes to the fore. Pagan is said to be dead and Pope crippled with arthritis, yet there is still a threat implied as Pope calls after Christian, "You will never mend till more of you be burned" (66). As Hopeful and Christian enter Vanity Fair, the Dreamer claims that times are better for pilgrims in "our English nation", that has "with some others...taken a dislike" to "the Ware of Rome and her Merchandise [which] is greatly promoted in this Fair"(89). Bunyan, in his epistolary preamble to The Holy City foreshadows these descriptions of the Roman church, saying it is now a "shaking, tottering, staggering kingdom" (III,399). This would have been the ideal moment in the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress to enlarge on the gradual but sure approach of the "sudden and fearful final downfall" of the Roman church that would precede the millennial reign of Christ, but Bunyan here holds back from giving any of the optimistic thoughts that characterize The Holy City and the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress.

One of the major signs of the imminent millennium according to The Holy City will be the absence of persecution for those on "the King's highway," But there is no hint of this in Christian's reading of "records of the greatest antiquity" in the Palace Beautiful. Instead, he is warned of the strong possibility of persecution and martyrdom. It is a daunting outlook, yet not without grounds for rejoicing. Saints can triumph in their adversity, and Christian learns about "the worthy Acts that some of [Christ's] servants had done: As how they had subdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteousness, obtained Promises, stopped the mouths of Lions, quenched the violence of Fire, escaped the edge of the Sword; out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, and turned to flight the Armies of the Aliens" (53). In the confrontation with Apollyon soon afterwards, the winged Dragon attempts to win Christian back to his side by craftily reminding him that many of the King of Princes' servants "have been put to shameful deaths!" (58) Undeterred, though fearing for his life, Christian stands his ground and does battle, until the wounded Apollyon "spread forth his Dragons wings, and sped him away, that Christian saw him no more"(60). Bunyan has again drawn on the Book of Revelation for this image of Satan as a dragon, but Christian's stand enacts the admonition in the epistle of James, "Resist the devil and he will flee from you" (4.7).

By the time Christian and Faithful reach Vanity Fair their attitudes towards death have undergone a further metamorphosis. Death was first feared because of the judgment to come; it was then seen as something hateful, yet to be risked rather than play the apostate. It has now become something to be desired, if it is to be a martyr's end. It may mean submitting to excruciating pain for a short time, but it also means escaping the many future miseries life holds; and not just that, it means arriving at the Celestial City all the sooner. Evangelist has prophesied that only one of the pilgrims will die in Vanity Fair, and while both Christian and Faithful are ready to accept God's will, "each man secretly wished that he might have that preferment"(92). This welcoming of a martyr's death because it will lead to life in the Celestial City represents a radical change in attitude--"progress" in the life of the Christian. It turns out to be Faithful whose lot it is "to be put to the most cruel death that could be invented" (97), and he it is who is "carried up through the Clouds, with the sound of Trumpet, the nearest way to the Coelestial Gate" (97), and Christian is left alone to face the rigours of the journey.

His loneliness is eased when the new convert, Hopeful, joins him, and some of the most delightful exchanges of dialogue in the book take place between these two. Although in general Hopeful is most willing to defer to Christian as his senior, this is not always wise, for their incarceration in Doubting Castle is due to Christian's desire for "the easiest going" (111). As the more mature man he should have known better than to stray into By-Path Meadow. Hopeful, however, is generous in his forgiveness, and it is he who dissuades Christian from taking his own life--a death that would lead to an after-life in hell, not heaven. They escape death at Giant Despair's hand when Christian finally remembers his key of Promise, and they return to persevere in the King's highway, passing safely through the Enchanted Ground to arrive in the land of Beulah, a place affording pilgrims some rest and delight in the contemplation of Sion's nearness. But the river of death has to be crossed, and the crossing fulfils Christian's worst premonitions. As the two pilgrims struggle in the deep water, Christian is almost submerged by "the sorrows of death", and Hopeful's encouraging words "Be of good chear my Brother, I feel the bottom, and it is good" (157) fail to dispel the "great darkness and horror" that engulf Christian's soul. His companion "has much adoe to keep his Brothers head above water" (157), but eventually Christian once again beholds his Lord and gives a cry of glad recognition, "Oh I see him again!" and "the enemy was after that as still as a stone, until they were gone over" (158). Safe on the further shore, Christian "found ground to stand upon" and death holds no more terror. As the pilgrims are borne aloft by Shining Ones towards the Gates of Heaven they are comforted and encouraged as these ministering spirits describe the wonders of Sion: "the Paradice of God, wherein you shall see the Tree of Life, and eat of the never fading fruits thereof"(159). No earthly millennial city this! This is the heavenly Jerusalem where death is no more, and from whence the risen saints will "ride out with the King of Glory."

> When he shall come with sound of Trumpet in the Clouds, as upon wings of the Wind, [they] shall come with him; and when he shall sit upon the Throne of Judgement, [they] shall sit by him; yea, and when he shall pass Sentence on all the workers of

> Iniquity, let them be Angels or Men, [they] also shall have a voice in that Judgement, because they were his and your Enemies. (160)

The thought of this Day of Judgment struck terror into the heart of the young Bedford tinker, and he is well able to depict it striking the same terror in the heart of his Pilgrim. The book Christian reads in the City of Destruction tells him he is "Condemned to die, and after that to come to Judgement" (9). This is a judgment that seems imminent to Christian in the City of Destruction, but it is even more terrifyingly close when, turned out of his way, he cowers under Mount Sinai, with its leaping "flashes of fire" (20). Rescued by Evangelist and safe again in the way, Christian sees and learns a great deal at the House of the Interpreter. Later, as he discusses his stay there with Piety in the Palace Beautiful, he recollects what for him were the three most important lessons:

> ...How Christ, in despite of Satan, maintains his work of Grace in the heart; how the Man had sinned himself quite out of hopes of Gods mercy; and also the Dream of him that thought in his sleep the day of Judgement was come. (48)

The trembling dreamer in the House of the Interpreter has the same forebodings of the wrath to come and the same qualms about meeting Christ on the Day of Judgment as had the Pilgrim and the author himself:

> ...I heard a great sound of a Trumpet, and saw also a Man sit upon a Cloud, attended with the thousands of Heaven; they were all in flaming fire, also the Heavens was on a burning flame. I heard then a voice, saying, "Arise ye Dead, and come to Judgement" and with that the Rocks rent, the

> Graves opened, & the Dead that were therein came forth; some of them were exceeding glad, and looked upward; and some sought to hide themselves under the Mountains. (36)

In this vivid apocalyptic language the borrowing from Revelation is obvious: what saves the episode from being merely stringent didacticism is the context, with its circumstantial, realistic details. The frightened dreamer, newly awakened, the terror engendered by the dream still permeating his consciousness, confesses his fear of not being among those whom the angels gathering up. Several near him are borne to the safety of heaven, and the dreamer's uncertainty about his final destination comes to the fore as he relates how "the pit of Hell opened her mouth just where I stood" (37). Christian's first companion, Faithful, tells Christian that many in the City of Destruction had been overcome by a similar dread after Christian left on his pilgrimage: "there was great talk presently after you was [sic] gone out, that our City would in short time with Fire from Heaven be burned down to the ground" (67). When Hopeful, in his turn, regales Christian with the circumstances of his conversion he describes how he had been full of dire apprehension whenever he heard "the bell toll for some that were dead" or when he had thoughts of dying himself, but his fears were most powerful "when I thought of my self, that I must quickly come to Judgement" (139). Hopeful's experience parallels that of Christian's when the latter, still as Graceless, lived in the City of Destruction. All the true pilgrims on the King's highway view judgment as being both inescapable and imminent; at no time is there a hint that it might be postponed for a thousand years during the reign of Christ and his church on earth.

However uncomfortable the thought of the last trump may be, the certainty of God's judgment on their enemies is some comfort to the saints when they are harassed. Evil will not triumph for ever, although present trials give Apollyon grounds to mock Christian. The Dragon claims the latter's Prince leaves his servants alone in their fight in this world, "he never came yet from the place where he is, to deliver any that served him out of our hands" (58). Satanic adherents, on the other hand, are well protected and rewarded on earth. Christian dismisses the Fiend's accusations, steadfastly proclaiming the saints' present tribulation "is on purpose to try their love," and that they shall have their deliverance in good time "when their Prince comes in his, and the Glory of the Angels" (58). But no millennium is postulated here either. Those who faithfully endure suffering will be unashamed at Christ's second coming to judgment and able to "look him in the face" (73). The wrongs they have been subjected to will be avenged when "their Lord will kill the Man of Sin, in the day that he shall rise up to the prey" (54). Christian later assures Faithful: "The end of the world is compared to our harvest", and, "at the day of Doom, men shall be judged according to their fruits" (80). Punishment is reserved for those who have been blatantly evil, and also for false saints who have plagued the true Christian--the irrepressible Talkative "a saint abroad and a devil at home" is such a one--and these will have no share in the heavenly Jerusalem. But it is worth noting again, that in The Holy City and other millenarian treatises, it is not the threat of judgment that will bring the throngs of converts to the earthly Jerusalem: they will gather because they fall in love with its beauty. This represents quite a different emphasis, and one, incidently, that Bunyan arrives at early in his career, even before he begins his full-time ministry.

The pilgrims, then, do not have the expectation of a future millennium, but they do travel on in the lively hope of heaven, a hope that lifts their drooping spirits amid the oftentimes grim reminders of death, hell and judgment. They are cheered by the certain knowledge that their progress is along the King's highway: "that is, alone by the rules that their Lord hath prescribed", as Bunyan puts it in his Holy City (III,410). The thought of arriving at last in the Celestial City braces the pilgrims to endure the vicissitudes of the journey with fortitude. Christian, bereft of all he holds dear in his flight from the City of Destruction, encourages both himself and Pliable with the vision of their destination:

> Christian. There is an endless Kingdom to be Inhabited, and everlasting life to be given us; that we may Inhabit that Kingdom for ever.
> Pliable. Well said, and what else?
> Christian. There are Crowns of Glory to be given us; and Garments that will make us shine like the Sun in the Firmament of Heaven.
> Pliable. This is excellent; and what

> else?
> Christian. There shall be no more crying, nor sorrow: For he that is owner of the place will wipe all tears from our eyes. (13)

The last words are closely akin to those in Revelation 21.4, and under further prompting from Pliable, Christian launches into a more detailed description of the inhabitants of the heavenly Jerusalem: the Seraphims and Cherubins, the elders with their golden crowns, the holy virgins and resurrected martyrs, and the "thousands and ten thousands that have gone before" will dazzle the eyes of newcomers to the Celestial City. Above all, they will see the Holy One, Christ enthroned in Heaven at the right hand of God.

As the pilgrims journey on, only the eye of faith perceives the glorified Christ. This sight brings the sinner under conviction to a living faith: as Hopeful says, "I thought I saw the Lord Jesus look down from Heaven upon me, and saying 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved.'" To his joy, Hopeful finds that "believing and coming [is] all one, and that he that came, that is, run out in his heart and affections after Salvation by Christ, he indeed believed in Christ" (143). But Ignorance, too, claims to have knowledge of Christ and Heaven. He thinks about them and even desires them. But alas! it is only his own heart, not the Word of God, that persuades him that he has, indeed, "left all for God and Heaven" (145). Under questioning by Hopeful and Christian, it turns out that his faith rests on his own good deeds, not on the death of Christ for sinners (147). Not justified by faith in Christ, he is debarred from Heaven. Yet he is among those pilgrims who have travelled beyond the Valley of the Shadow of Death and Doubting Castle to the land of Beulah and from here have a more perfect view of the heavenly Jerusalem where the saints "shall have white Robes" and their "walk and talk shall be every day with the King, even all the days of eternity" (159). The beauty of the City, "builded of Pearls and Precious Stones" (155), is seen from the far side of the River bathed in the sunlight that reflects the golden pavements, and leaves the pilgrims sick with desire. They long to be within its walls, among "the inumerable company of Angels, and the Spirits of Just Men made perfect" (159).

With the joys of heaven before them, the Day of Judgment holds no fear for the elect who "look up because their salvation draweth nigh". For the reprobate who are to be consigned to Hell on that great and terrible Day, it is a very different matter. Their eternity is to be spent in outer darkness with Beelzebub and all his angels (93). This yawning chasm between eternal bliss and eternal bane makes the journey seem fraught with peril from beginning to end. Although it may be surmised that Christian, Faithful, and Hopeful will be kept safely on the King's highway until they reach their goal, their own weakness or foolishness allows them at times to deviate. They stray into By-Path Meadow and are deceived into following a false apostle like the Flatterer. It is true, of course, that help is never too far away: Evangelist and the Shining Ones are at hand to rescue them from the consequences of their waywardness. Even so, with temptation an ever-present reality to which they sometimes do fall prey, the issue of their salvation now and then does appear to be in doubt. Grim reminders of hell abound. The road to hell is most often the obvious and easy route: the "broad way that leads to destruction" (Matt.7.13). Formalist and Hypocrisy, to avoid the labour of toiling up the Hill of Difficulty, take the roads around the bottom. One loses himself in a "great wood" and the other among "dark mountains". Christian had been well aware that these two were heading for perdition; the pair boasted of not entering by the Wicket Gate, for "their Countrey-men counted [it] too far about"(40). But his solemn warning falls on deaf ears; they dismiss him and his well meant advice with contempt and "looked upon each other, and laughed" (41).

Again, in meeting with Apollyon, the enemy "beheld [Christian] with a disdainful countenance," (56) and the hero soon realizes he is up against all the powers of darkness in an encounter where the possibility of the enemy's gaining the upper hand is very real. Things are touch and go until Christian is able to give his "deadly thrust" (60). In giving thanks for his deliverance, Christian confesses he could not have won without the help of angelic powers: "blessed Michael"(60), sworn enemy of the dragon in Revelation 12.17, had aided him. So much for Apollyon's assertion that the Prince never delivered his own subjects! It is interesting to see here how skilfully Bunyan demonstrates the biblical truth that the Devil is the "father of lies". After the rigours of this fierce combat, some respite might have been expected, but no sooner has Christian overcome Apollyon than Hell itself seems to be engulfing him. We have the Narrator intervening to tell us "the mouth of Hell...[is] also hard by the way side" (63) in the Valley of the Shadow of Death. Faced with yet another infernal threat, Christian is in a quandary as to what he should do in these terrifying circumstances, but finally he resorts to another weapon, All-Prayer:

> ...ever and anon the flame and smoke would come out in such abundance, with sparks and hideous noises, (things that cared not for Christians Sword, as did Apollyon before) that he was forced to put up his Sword, and betake himself to an other weapon called All-Prayer: so he cried in my hearing, "O Lord I beseech thee deliver my Soul." Thus he went on a great while, yet still the flames would be reaching towards him. (63)

Hell here is not so much the abode of Satan and the damned, as it is an omnipresent force vying against Heaven for the possession of human souls. Yet fear of the actual torment, the never-ending fire and brimstone has often a salutary effect; Hopeful counts on it as he poses the vital question to Christian in Doubting Castle: "but hast thou forgotten the Hell whither, for certain, the murderers go?" (115) The thought is sufficient to bring Christian to his senses.

To discover the precincts of Hell in the vicinity of Doubting Castle or the Valley of the Shadow of Death is hardly unexpected, but who would expect to find an entrance to Hell in a place like the Delectable Mountains, from where the Celestial City could be seen with the "Perspective Glass"? (122) Yet there is a door in the side of a hill, and when the pilgrims look in, they see it is "very dark, and smoaky"; they hear "a lumbring noise as of fire, and a cry of some tormented"; they smell "the scent of Brimstone." The shepherds' explanation seems gratuitous: "This is a By-way to Hell, a way that Hypocrites go in at; namely, such as sell their Birthright, with Esau: such as sell their Master, with Judas: such as blaspheme the Gospel, with Alexander; and that lie, and dissemble with Ananias and Saphira his wife" (122). However, after they have left the Delectable Mountains, the pilgrims' route lies through a "very dark Lane"; here it comes as no shock to observe Turn-away, "a man whom seven Devils had bound with seven strong Cords" being carried back to the door the pilgrims had seen in the side of the hill, and they tremble at the sight (125). Bunyan relies on the sounding of this apocalyptic note to hold the reader on tenterhooks until the very last page. The "coup de grace" comes in his portrayal of the fate of the "brisk lad", Ignorance. Hell's proximity to the Way has been almost forgotten in the relief of arriving in Beulah. It is momentarily revived during the River crossing before being laid to rest as Hopeful and Christian are welcomed into the Celestial City. After Christian's struggles in the deep waters, the nonchalant demeanour of Ignorance at the River bank is disconcerting. A boat there all the time? Surely Christian and Hopeful have been incredibly naive. All along they have been at odds with Ignorance and made plain their opinion that "it will certainly go ill with him at last" (149). Yet here he is, sauntering confidently up to the Gates, "supposing that entrance should have been quickly administered to him" (162). Alas! for his brashness; he is not only turned away, but also bound hand and foot and carried to the door on the side of the hill. From first to last Hell is a threatening alternative to Heaven for all on the King's highway.

Naturally, genuine pilgrims on the King's highway have no need to be afraid of Hell; Heaven is already within their grasp. Christian escaped the maw of Hell the moment he entered the Wicket Gate. The record of the rest of his pilgrimage is the record of his sanctification, and this ongoing war between flesh and Spirit is the reality every Christian's life attests. The presence of the "old man" still within the believer does mean the vision of future joy in heaven may be blotted out for long periods by dallying in sin or giving way to doubt. At such times death, judgment, and Hell can loom large on the horizon. These apocalyptic themes in the first part of Pilgrim's Progess are so deftly interwoven with other elements in the story that their prime importance may go unnoticed. Yet they are indeed what gives the work its immediacy. True, the excitement generated by the battle with Apollyon is sparked in a number of different ways. All the heady ingredients of a dramatic chivalric encounter are there, but the real energy source lies in the deployment of heaven against hell, Christ against Antichrist.

It goes without saying that the various components would not, in themselves, guarantee a "Puritan" classic: the many forgotten seventeenth-century books languishing in the dust of back rooms of libraries testify to that. As F. R. Leavis points out, it is because Pilgrim's Progress "was written by a highly gifted, imaginative writer and has the vitality and significance of major art" that it survives.[17] Bunyan's powerful imaginative blending of his materials along with his major apocalyptic theme charges the reader's own imagination, enabling him both to "see" and to be completely caught up in the situation.

As Part II takes up the story of how Christian's wife and children fare on their pilgrimage, apocalyptic themes are merged with the millenarian one. The change in tenor is immediately apparent as we learn that the once scornful inhabitants of the City of Destruction are well acquainted with Christian's adventures and the happy outcome of his journey--the Pilgrim is now more admired than despised. When the Dreamer meets the "aged Gentleman", Mr. Sagacity, the latter relates with great gusto how the Pilgrim's fame has spread far and wide, and how the records of his pilgrimage are eagerly sought. Bunyan's ironical undertone here is unmistakable. No longer the object of derision, the erstwhile pilgrim is now "highly commended" (175). His example has won "many well wishers to his ways", despite "the Molestations, Troubles, Wars, Captivities, Cries, Groans, Frights and Fears" (175) with which followers in the Way are only too likely to meet. Still, many remain aloof.

Fascinated as they might be by Christians's experiences, they have not the slightest desire to emulate him. They have no wish to risk the hazards of such a journey, even while envy makes their "mouths water at his gains" (175). Bunyan describes these "gains" in language freely borrowed from St. John's gospel and Revelation and it brings to mind similar descriptions in the first half of the book and in *The Holy City*:

> Some say that he now walks in White, that he has a Chain of Gold about his Neck, that he has a Crown of Gold beset with Pearls upon his Head: Others say, that the shining ones that sometimes shewed themselves to him in his Journey, are become his companions, and that he is as familiar with them in the place where he is, as here one Neighbour is with another. Besides, 'tis confidently affirmed concerning him, that the King of the place where he is, has bestowed upon him already, a very rich and pleasant Dwelling at Court, and that he every day eateth and drinketh, and walketh, and talketh with him, and receiveth of the smiles and favours of him that is Judg of all there. (176)

As Mr. Sagacity remarks, Christian is now well out of range of his enemies' "Gun-shot" (176), and it is his family's turn to come within its range. Christiana, stung with remorse as she remembers how unmoved she had been by the "restless Groans, brinish Tears and self-bemoanings of her Husband" (177), comes to the point where she, too, is convicted of sin: "it returned upon her like a flash of lightning, and rent the Caul of her Heart in sunder...What shall I do to be saved" (178). Torn between desire and fear, an apocalyptic dream of heaven and hell mirrors the state of her soul, but the turmoil is readily resolved next day when the heavenly messenger, Secret, arrives with a perfumed letter from the King himself inviting her to follow her husband to the Celestial City. Mr. Sagacity reports with high satisfaction, "they are all gone on Pilgrimage, both the good Woman and her four Boys" (177). Such ease, such assurance on Christiana's part of her ready reception by the King, appears in stark contrast to Christian's burdened agony and doubt. It lends weight to the often voiced complaint that this pilgrimage of Christiana's is altogether a tame affair compared to Christian's valiant strivings. As Roger Sharrock says, "The Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress is entirely different from the first, and the frequent references to Christian and his journey serve only to emphasize the gulf between the two books."[18]

The critical consensus appears to be that, although Bunyan's characters are more firmly drawn in Part II, overall, the sequel is inferior to its predecessor. Even so, as N. H. Keeble points out, a good deal of twentieth-century criticism tends to demonstrate the differences between the first and second halves of the book, without trying to denigrate the latter at the expense of the former.[19] J. F. Forrest, for instance, in "Vision, Form and the Imagination in the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress (1684)" finds that the form of the work, "Bunyan's reappraisal of the practical worth of the dream or vision " discloses the author's new "artistic self-consciousness."[20] But it remains incontrovertible that there is solid ground on which to base the view that the second part of Pilgrim's Progress is altogether different from the first. Having examined Bunyan's millenarianism and considered the historical background of the times, my own view is that this decided change of mood which does, in fact, make it a less gripping story, stems primarily from Bunyan's decision to move from an apocalyptic mode to a millenarian one. The pilgrims' final destination is still the Celestial City, but on the journey real progress is made towards building an earthly Sion which inevitably takes time: the pilgrimage cannot be hurried. The result is undoubtedly a less stirring tale, but the delightful adventures of the growing band of pilgrims have their own intrinsic charm, not least because they offer a optimistic view of the future of the church militant. The argument as to whether this makes Part II inferior to Part I as a work of art will not be pursued.

Setting off on her momentous journey, Christiana, unlike her husband, is first of all spared the grief of having false Christians like Obstinate and Pliable as companions. Mercy, Christiana's young neighbour, remains at her side throughout the journey, always a tower of strength and common sense. Neither woman is ready prey for the pseudo-professor as was Christian for Mr. Worldly Wiseman. Mercy is not in the least beguiled by Mr. Brisk's outward show. Unlike Badman's wife, Mercy knows how to choose a Christian husband. She purposes "never to have a clog to [her] soul" (227), and after Mr. Brisk's addresses, she is quick to turn to the women in the Palace Beautiful for information about the character of her would-be suitor and to discern that he is no fit mate for her. As Christian progressed along the Way he did learn to discriminate between true and false pilgrims, but it is worth noting how much more prevalent they were as he was travelling: the fewness of the false Christians encountered by Christiana and her party is a sure sign that progress towards a millennium has been made in the interim. Christian, of course, did eventually have the companionship of true pilgrims like Faithful and Hopeful, and he, like the women and children after him, was refreshed from time to time by hospitality along the way. Comparatively speaking, however, Christiana, Mercy, and the boys receive a great deal more in the way of comfort and entertainment. They remain as honoured guests at the Palace Beautiful for "a month or above", whereas Christian had to be pressed into staying a mere three days. It might well have been his own inclination to linger longer there. He confessed to Piety he had been so ravished by everything the Interpreter had to show him he would have willingly stayed with him "a twelve month but that I knew I had further to go"(48). Here the much greater sense of urgency in his quest is apparent, an urgency that is noticeably absent in Christiana's pilgrimage, and this slower pace makes it inevitable that Part II is a less rousing adventure. The comparative loneliness of Christian's quest leads to the reader's identifying more closely with the protagonist and consequently becoming more enthralled by the ups and downs of his predicament. Christiana's companions, unlike Faithful and Hopeful, are very much a felt presence throughout the tale, making the focus unavoidably more diffused. Interest is deflected from Christiana by Mercy, Mr. Great-heart, Old Honest, and the children, whose doings and dialogues are often in the foreground. The characterizations, as was suggested above, are lively, but the strong central appeal of a single protagonist is lost.

The presence of Christiana's children, naturally, does make more frequent stops along the way more plausible. When Christiana "wished for an Inn for her self and her Children" (258) Mr. Honest can quickly reassure her that the house of Gaius, a lover of pilgrims, is near at hand. This is a place where "none but Pilgrims" (259) may stay, and the little party avails itself of the opportunity to rest, staying for more than a month. At Gaius' suggestion, Matthew and Mercy marry, and the visit is prolonged further when "Gaius gave his Daughter Phebe to James, Mathew's Brother, to Wife" (269). For some readers, this sudden transition of the boys to manhood makes a travesty of the story's realism. Allegorically, their transformation from infant believers who have to be fed "the milk of the word", ("a dish of milk well crumbed...that they may grow thereby" (262) as Bunyan puts it) to mature Christians who are ready for "meat" works well. When the time comes they are ready to be of use to Mr. Great-heart in killing Giant Despair and demolishing Doubting Castle, "for they were young men and strong" (281). In The Holy City Bunyan points out that "there are three states of saints in this life; an entrance into childhood, an entrance into a manly state, and an entrance into the state of a father of the church" (III,416). For those with "eyes to see" the boys' spiritual precocity has been plain all along in their astonishingly perceptive answers and comments as they are catechised by the women at the Palace Beautiful and Mr. Great-heart. Their swift translation to manhood is the desirable norm of Christian growth that Bunyan himself longs to see in his flock.

The frequent stops for rest thus give a chance for the author to demonstrate how spiritual growth may be fostered in new Christians, as well as allowing time and opportunity for the number of pilgrims to increase, phenomena closely connected to Bunyan's millenarianism. They illustrate what Bunyan has to say in The Holy City when, through sound doctrine, "at the day of the setting up of this Jerusalem, a great harvest of sinners shall be gathered by the grace of the gospel" (III,443), and the same grace makes young men "fathers and ancients in his church; it makes them grave, knowing, solid guides, and unfolders of the mysteries of the kingdom" (III,452). This is surely a just picture of Mr. Great-heart and all sound pastors, and the same qualities are being implanted in Christiana's sons. But certainly when all these things are added together, they verify the claim that Christiana's journey is much easier than her husband's: it is, as O. A. Winslow says, "a smiling journey".[21] The very route itself is more pleasant and less dangerous since the first Pilgrim passed along it, and this is not just because Great-heart is there with his sword to protect the party. Improvement in the Way is nowhere better seen than in Vanity Fair, and this is something that can be directly traced to Bunyan's millennial views, for he sees absence of persecution as being freedom to walk in the "King's highway." The road to the Celestial City "lyes just thorow this Town" (89)--it cannot be avoided. Christian and Faithful met with imprisonment and martyrdom, but Christiana and her fellows now meet with right royal treatment and spend a considerable time in what in every sense is now a much "fairer" city. Mr. Mnason and his friends show them warm hospitality, (Bunyan's choice of New Testament elders' names in Gaius and Mr. Mnason is another indication that he foresees a millennial church possessing the pure qualities of the primitive church) and here Christiana's two younger sons acquire suitable wives. These four marriages augment the numbers considerably, for they prove fruitful. We learn specifically of Mercy's pregnancy when she is so overcome with longing for "the great glass" that hangs in the Shepherds' dining room that she thinks "she shall miscarry" if she is denied it (288).

Felicitous domesticity notwithstanding, the reader whose taste runs to tales of derring-do will not be wholly disappointed with Christiana's journey. There are still plenty of stirring episodes. Before Christiana and Mercy are safe within the lodge at the Wicket Gate they are terrorised by the great mastiff, and they scarcely have left it before they are set upon by the leering Ill-favoured ones. Their evil intention to rape the modestly attired women is made only too clear: "We make no assault upon you for Money; but are come out to tell you, that if you will but grant one small request which we shall ask, we will make Women of you for ever" (194-195). Christiana and Mercy are prepared to "die rather upon the spot" (195) than yield, and their frantic cries for help are answered by Reliever at whose appearance the ruffians make good their escape. The dangers of the journey for the women and boys are lessened thereafter by Mr. Great-heart's being made their guide and conductor, and he courageously defends them from Giant Grim and Giant Maul. These encounters lack the high drama of Christian's battle with Apollyon, but with the women and children cowering fearfully in the background, helpless spectators who "did nothing but sigh and cry all the time that the Battle did last" (245), it is obvious that a defeat for Mr. Great-heart would have had much wider repercussions than a defeat for Christian.

The time spent at the House of Gaius and the town of Vanity Fair gives the men the opportunity of sallying out to actually seek the enemy. Near the first named place, Giant Slay-Good "that doth much annoy the Kings High-way" (266), is found clutching Mr. Feeble-mind, planning to "pick his Bones" when he is finished "rifling of him" (266). Mr. Great-heart "let fly with such stoutness at the Gyants Head and Sides, that he made him let his Weapon fall out of his Hand. So he smote him, and slew him, and cut off his Head, and brought it away to the Inn" (267). It is set up "for a Terror to those that should attempt to do as he, hereafter", and Mr. Feeble-mind, "a man of no strength at all, of Body, nor yet of Mind" (267), yet who would, if he could, crawl to the Celestial City rather than be turned out of the way, is taken under Mr. Great-heart's tutelage. These episodes are undoubtedly exciting, but it still does seem, as Sharrock says, as if the women and children are merely undertaking "a peacetime tour of the battlefields [rather] than a new campaign."[22] Bunyan's descriptions of the pilgrims' activities promote such a view. Along the route Mr. Great-heart, like any tour guide, is at pains to point out the places where "Christian did here play the Man" (240), and the monuments that will stand "throughout all Ages" (240) to commemorate Christian's famous victories. At the site of Christian's battle with Apollyon, Christiana is even shown "some of [her] husband's blood upon these stones":

> ...Behold also how here and there are yet to be seen upon the place, some of the Shivers of Apollyon's Broken Darts: See also how they did beat the Ground with their Feet as they fought, to make good their Places against each other, how also with their by-blows they did split the very stones in pieces. (240)

It must be conceded that in Christiana's pilgrimage no conquest of "hobgoblin or foul fiend", however exciting, remotely parallels the sustained ferocity of Christian's bouts with the powers of evil.

6

In the light of all this it is reasonable to ask if Bunyan's intent really was to direct Part II of this work towards women and children, as befitting weaker vessels not sufficiently equipped for the mighty spiritual battles that are, in The Pilgrim's Progress, the prerogative of men. Certainly there are those who believe it to be a paradigm for their guidance in particular. Sharrock points out that just before its publication Bunyan had to curb the women's desire for a separate prayer meeting in A Case of Conscience Resolved (1683), and he feels Part II is an attempt not only to conciliate, but also to acknowledge the great contribution they had made to the Bedford Meeting.[23] As we have seen, Bunyan considered woman to be, paradoxically, both man's equal and inferior. In Christ there is no male or female; men and women are "joint heirs together of grace"; they are new creations in Christ. But the hierarchy of this fallen world dictates that as sisters and helpmates women are naturally men's inferior, and this being the case, the weaker sex is not to be entrusted with leadership in the church, especially the public preaching of the gospel. Even so, Bunyan's own eloquent testimony in Grace Abounding to the powerful effect of the private preaching of the gospel on himself by the elderly women of the Bedford Meeting is tacit acknowledgement that the words of women, too, go forth in the might of the Holy Spirit. And as far as Christian warfare is concerned, "the flesh lusting against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh", (Gal.5.17) there is no difference at all between the sexes.

A woman's conversion experience, as we saw above in

Jessey's account of Mistress Sarah Wight's, may be just as searing as a man's; indeed, if Mistress Wight's is compared with Bunyan's own, it can be more so. The path of sanctification, too, can be just as rough and rocky a road, as Bunyan shows in the character of Badman's wife. He does make it clear there, though, that she was at fault in not seeking out the advice of the godly in the absence of her parents. However, when it comes to obeying a husband like Mr. Badman or obeying God, Mrs. Badman, and by extension all in a subservient position, including the mechanick preacher who refused the lawfully constituted authority's demand that he must conform to the established church and leave off preaching, must follow the example of the apostles. Christians, male or female, young or old, have no option; they must obey God first. And Bunyan, the avid student of John Foxe, knew very well that such Christian testimony may be sealed with martyrdom. He also knew that women's endurance and courage when confronted by torture, sword or flames were equal to those of men. He had read in Foxe of early Christian women like Perpetua and Cecilia who were shining examples of faith under the most loathsome tortures and deaths. He read there, too, of the Marian martyrs, many of whom were women and had suffered and died as bravely as their counterparts in the early church. In view of all this, it is unlikely that Bunyan would depict the road to the Celestial City as being easier for women and children; a book suggesting their trials are less sore than those of men can hardly be construed as a compliment.

But that is not to say Christiana does not epitomise the ideal of Puritan womanhood in her willingness to be taught, her anxiety to pass on her knowledge to her children, and her deference to Mr. Great-heart. She is also typical of the Puritan "consort" who takes charge of a household in the absence of her husband. Mercy is taken under her wing as a servant, and that relationship, which has some parallels with that of Ruth and Naomi, reflects the ideal of the Puritan master-servant relationship in which servants are treated as members of the family. Christiana tells Mercy, " I will hire thee, and thou shalt go along with me as my servant. Yet we will have all things in common betwixt thee and me" (185). It is, again, a dual relationship. Mercy is Christiana's inferior first as a servant, later as a daughter-in-law, yet all along she is her sister in Christ, and the latter is the relationship that takes precedence. But important as Christiana's role as the typical Puritan matron is, her allegorical significance as the church is of greater moment. On one level, she represents the willing and grateful submission of the local congregation to the teaching and leadership of its minister and elders. Interestingly enough, Mr. Great-heart's services are not automatically provided: the pilgrims must request them. And the fact that there are now conductors and guides, sound ministers like Mr. Great-heart to promote pure New Testament doctrine, is another indication of Bunyan's millenarian thought. Evangelism is the Christian norm, and the

Reformation brought a great surge of it, but the millennium will be preceded by an even greater zeal for souls. True preachers will be raised up as the millennium is being established because of the necessity of carrying the gospel into every part of the world. At a deeper level, an analogy can be drawn between Christiana and the entire church--the bride of Christ, and, as the number of pilgrims increases, she refers to herself as "a mother in Israel" signifying the special wisdom that is required if the new Israel of God is to conform to Christ. Quite apart from all this, however, there is a particular piece of evidence that must not be discounted in showing the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress is not aimed primarily at one segment of Bunyan's readership--the testimony of the author himself. In "Sending forth his Second Part of the Pilgrim" (167), the book is enjoined to go "...to every place,/Where my first Pilgrim has but shewn his Face"; for Bunyan this book is "a Second store,/Of things as good, as rich, as profitable,/For Young, for Old, for Stag'ring and for stable" (170).

Bunyan the pastor was well acquainted with the diversity of types within the church, and knew full well that troubled as his own conversion was, there were many who, like Christiana, received their summons to the Celestial City in "a scented letter." It is often affirmed, that in this second half of The Pilgrim's Progress he has simply moved away from the intensity of his own conversion to include the wider concerns of his ministry for all kinds of people, and that this is the reason for Christiana's very different kind of journey. The theory is predicated on Bunyan's now being an experienced minister of the gospel presiding over a flourishing church. However, it should be borne in mind that when Bunyan published the first half of his book he was anything but an inexperienced pastor. Indeed, his Instruction for the Ignorant (1675) shows how preoccupied he was already with pastoral cares. He was appointed minister to the Bedford Meeting before being freed in 1672, and he entered into pamphlet warfare in the early years of the decade in order to defend his church's doctrinal position against Edward Fowler and the closed communion Baptists; all his writing testifies to the zealous care he had for his people. If we are to accept his own explanation of how the first part of The Pilgrim's Progress came to be written, we must accept that its spontaneity precludes its having been written specifically for the edification of the church: "still as I pulled it came nor did I intend/But to divert myself in doing this." But his reason for actually publishing it after consulting his friends is quite different; he feels that it may be profitable for the church; he is convinced "it might do good." Like George Herbert before him, Bunyan was too good a fisherman for Christ not to know tempting bait when he saw it. And having once committed himself to fiction for didactic purposes, the other fictive works are a natural progression based on the same "sound and honest Gospel-strains" (7). As J. F. Forrest says, "The form of the Second Part is therefore a triumphant vindication and concrete realization of the practical value of imaginative insight, as it is also a renewed commitment to the faith on which the allegory is securely grounded."[24]

Granted that the fictive works are didactic and directed not to a segment but to the whole of the church, the question still remains as to why the second part of Pilgrim's Progress is such an intrinsically different vehicle from the first. Fellowship looms large, and this in itself makes for a different kind of book. The growth of the party can can be held to simply exemplify first, what the Christian expectation is when the gospel is preached, and second, what was found to be true in Bunyan's own experience. Despite the continuous persecution, sectarian churches were growing churches in his lifetime. It is thus easy to imagine that in Part II Bunyan was, indeed, preoccupied with believers as a group. The passage of time, the normal desire to experiment with new writing methods, the wider pastoral responsibilities concomitant with the spread of his fame, could all account for a shift to the group experience. But the actual journey itself is quite another matter. While not uneventful, it is indubitably much easier than Christian's. It could be argued that Bunyan's main drift was to show that Christians in coming together for fellowship do, in fact, have an easier passage through life, especially when they place themselves under firm pastoral guidance. But while this may hold true in a number of ways, it makes no allowance for the fact that the church, as a corporate entity has often been persecuted, and at the time Bunyan was writing his second, more optimist volume, many sectarians were suffering a greater degree of persecution than had been the case earlier. It is common to cite The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting for the year 1683 and draw attention to the comparatively full record of meeting for prayer and worship,[25] and go from there to suggest that Part II of Pilgrim's Progress is a natural outgrowth of a settled and prosperous ministry--Christiana and her party simply reflect this halcyon state of affairs.

The historical facts do not appear to support such a view. In all of Bunyan's ministry there was never a time when the Bedford Meeting or any other group of dissenters could be certain of enjoying a protracted period of peace. Depending on time and place, persecution might lessen for a while, only to be renewed. The Bedford Meeting met under the shadow of threatened calamity from 1660 until 1688. The years from 1679 to 1681 were full of uncertainty after the Popish Plot and the subsequent crises over the Exclusion Bills. And Charles II, thereafter, was determined to have a Parliament that would bow to his will.[26] The key lay in having municipalities that would elect suitable members, and the king again set about changing town charters. While Bunyan was writing his "smiling" book during 1683, the king was packing the Bedford municipality with his supporters; The new charter was granted on 19 July 1684. And to add to all this, the execution of Lord William Russell, Bedford's Parliamentary representative, who was alleged to have been implicated in the Rye House Plot, took place two days later.

John Brown observes, "it was the signal for a national reaction in the direction of renewed persecution."[27] The historian, G. E. Aylmer says: "Persecution was probably at its worst from 1681 to 1685."[28] Bunyan's forebodings about the political situation are well demonstrated in his Seasonable Counsel: or Advice to Sufferers (1684), and they came to pass with a vengeance. For the next two years persecution reached a new zenith as the infamous Judge Jeffreys rampaged through the land. It cannot be held that the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress was born out of any easing of the nonconformists' situation. The book emerged at a time when things looked particularly dark and threatening. It seems quite likely that some of the millenarian treatises published in 1692 were written in these dismal years, and certainly The Holy War (1682) is a clear indication that Bunyan was again ready to share his thoughts on this topic with his readers. The dearth of millenarian works between 1665 and 1682 may be attributed to Bunyan's commitment to preaching the gospel, for he may simply have deemed the controverial subject unsuitable food for the weaker members of his flock, since widely diverging views on it inevitably led to disunity, a factor likely to delay the millennium. It is possible the Popish Plot and the dissension about the succession spurred him to write about the certainty of the overthrow of Antichrist for the reassurance of his flock. Given the times, Bunyan's outlook is remarkably serene and confident. The general climate of opinion was still conducive to millenarianism, but the threat of violence went with it. Bunyan may have quite deliberately sought to counteract such a possibility with the reiteration of his peaceable millenarian views that, nevertheless, reflected his opinion that the true church was progressing inexorably towards the millennial age. Such a hope would bolster the saints' faith and courage if suffering lay ahead, as the Bedford pastor seemed to think. So there is strong evidence to suggest the second part of The Pilgrim's Progress is primarily Bunyan's hopeful vision of the pre-millennial church. Why he should cherish these hopes so strongly when everything looked so black can only be guessed at, but cherish them he did, and it is to them primarily that we owe the "smiling" nature of Christiana's journey; the story is governed by Bunyan's own brand of millenarianism, peaceful, progressive, and anticipating no direct supernatural intervention to bring it about.

One of the notable things about Bunyan's millenarianism is his interest in seeing it in a historical context. This is no less evident in Part II of The Pilgrim's Progress than it was in The Holy War (1682). Times have changed in the City of Destruction and its environs. Mr. Sagacity tells the Dreamer that there are those who think that the Prince's coming may be at hand:

> Moreover, it is expected of some that his Prince, the Lord of that Countrey, will shortly come into these parts, and will know the reason, if they can give any, why his Neighbours set so little by him, and had him in so much in derision when they perceived that he would be a Pilgrim. (176)

This might well be a statement of the notions prevalent in England from the middle of the century onwards, but as it stands could just as well mean a coming to judgment as a coming to set up an earthly kingdom. The Lord at the head of the way explains to Mercy and Christiana that Satan and his cohorts are to be endured for the present: Christ is still prepared to "take all at present patiently" (193). During Christian's pilgrimage the hero had to overcome a great deal of Satanic opposition, and in The Holy City Bunyan makes it quite plain that he expects Satan to be bound for the period of the millennium. It is equally plain that Satan is still alive and well as the women and children travel to the Celestial City, but his activities are definitely being curbed, which is exactly the kind of progress that Bunyan expects to see before the millennium. In Part II the character of Christian himself is more firmly set within an historical framework, one that rather suggests the period of purity within the primitive church and early Protestant Reformation. He is often referred to as "the pilgrim of former times" and his family is given an honourable pedigree. They originated in Antioch the city where the growing number of early believers were first dubbed "Christians". Not only that, but the Pilgrim is also placed directly in the line of martyrs. Gaius tells Christiana that he has heard much about the courage and virtue of her husband's progenitors:

> Stephen that was one of the first of the Family from whence your Husband sprang, was knocked o' th' Head with Stones. James, an other of this Generation, was

> slain with the edge of the Sword. To say nothing of Paul and Peter, men antiently of the Family from whence your Husband came. There was Ignatius, who was cast to the lyons. Romanus whose Flesh was cut by pieces from his Bones; and Policarp; that played the man in the Fire. There was he that was hanged up in a Basket in the Sun for the Wasps to eat; and he who they put into a Sack and cast him into the Sea, to be drowned. 'Twould be impossible, utterly to count up all of that Family that have suffered Injuries and Death, for the love of a Pilgrims Life. (260)

The church of which Gaius speaks came into being, according to Mr. Great-heart, because "the church of the Jews, of which Christ came, had then lost almost all the Sap and Spirit of Religion" (266). Great-heart makes no mention of the future ingrafting of the Jews that will characterize the millennium once it is firmly established: "they shall even in the latter days, that is, when this city is builded, return and seek the Lord their God, and David their king" (III,413). Neither does he mention the need for "our New Testament preachers...to carry in their mouths salvation to the Jews, by which means they shall be again be reconciled and made one with the Lord Jesus" (III,419). The church during that golden age will be irresistible, but the gospel must be taken to the waiting multitudes. It is not really so surprising that Great-heart does not allude to the ingrafting of the Jews because the millennium proper has not yet begun, although since Christian travelled the road good progress has been made towards it. Bunyan makes it clear in The Holy City and other millenarian treatises that the building of the New Jerusalem will be accomplished in stages: "first altar-work, then temple-work, and after that the building of the wall and completing the city" (III,428). He names the Reformers and Marian martyrs as the "altar men" who performed the "altar work" in restoring the Bible to the Church, and as the church moves towards the millennial age "they shall see how far they are come out of Antichrist, and shall see also how far yet they have to go, to the complete rebuilding and finishing of this city" (III,408).

Still much remains to be done, as we see from Christiana's journey. The Way has improved in most respects, but there are a few things that seem to be rather worse than better since the "pilgrim of former times" passed by. The Slough of Despond, for instance, "notwithstanding the Command of the King to make this place for Pilgrims good; yet it was rather worse than formerly" (187). Here Bunyan's perennial concern about "false professors" is evident, for they are those "that pretend to be the Kings Labourers, and that say they are for mending the Kings Highway that bring Dirt and Dung instead of Stones, and so marr, instead of mending" (187). The connection between false professors and false doctrine is not overlooked either. Christian on his journey found the spring at the bottom of the Hill of Difficulty clear and refreshing, but when Christiana and Mercy reach the same spot it is muddy. Mr. Great-heart explains, "'tis Dirty with the feet of some that are not desirous that Pilgrims here should quench their Thirst" (214). The millennium will have to be fully established before the saints will no longer be "assailed with either wicked and erroneous doctrine, or fierce and fiery darts from the prince of darkness" (III,426). Christiana's little group have to be instructed on how to obtain the pure apostolic doctrine of former times because, as the author says in The Holy City, "Romish beasts have corrupted this doctrine by treading it down with their feet, and have muddied this water with their own dirt and filthiness" (III,414). Great-heart uses precisely the same metaphor to explain to the women how the spring has come to be polluted. In order to refresh themselves before tackling the Hill the later pilgrims have to put the water into a clean vessel, and only when the dirt sinks to the bottom is the water fit to drink.

For the most part, though, things have changed greatly for the better since Christian passed along the way. Simple, Sloth and Presumption are deservedly "hung up in irons" because of their despicable efforts to try to persuade all who were inclined to listen that all would be well with their souls in the end. Christiana and Mercy are glad they have been spared their blandishments, and Mercy's comment is "who knows else what they might a done to such poor Women as we are?" (214) The dangerous by-ways where Formalist and Hypocrisy met their end, at the bottom of the Hill Difficulty, polluted spring notwithstanding, are now "stopped up with chains, posts and a ditch," although there are still some travellers who "will chuse to adventure here, rather then take the pains to go up this Hill" (215). When the weary women and children get to the top of the Hill they find a plaque recording that "Mistrust, and Timorous were burned thorough the Tongue with an hot Iron, for endeavouring to hinder Christian in his Journey" (218). Christian and Faithful found no friendly inn like that of Gaius between the Palace Beautiful and the town of Vanity Fair, which has improved almost beyond recognition when the later band of pilgrims arrives. True, good men are still a minority: "but a few, when compared with them on the other side" (274). Yet the inhabitants, on the whole, are "much more moderate now then formerly" (275). Since Faithful was burned they have felt a sense of shame. In those former days Christians "were afraid to walk the streets", and now they can not only show their faces, but also may be counted as honourable citizens and good men. Changed days indeed! Life in Vanity Fair is pleasant and even worthwhile, and Christiana and the little party of pilgrims are happy to live and work there for a while. Mr. Great-heart serves the townsmen well. He volunteers to engage the Monster that lurks in the adjoining woods and comes out now and then to kill and carry off children. This Monster is described as having seven heads and ten horns, like the Beast that comes out of the sea in Revelation 13.1. In the apocalypse it is governed by the woman "Mystery, Babylon the great, the mother of Harlots" (Rev.17:5) who is almost invariably interpreted by seventeenth-century Protestants as being the Roman Catholic church. When Christian had passed along the way some progress towards the earthly Sion was seen in the demise of Pagan and the impotence of Giant Pope, but now Mr. Great-heart's company is carrying the war to his territory: "they so be-labored him, being sturdy men at Arms, that they made him make a Retreat...And it is verily believed by some, that this Beast will die of his Wounds" (278).

In the The Holy City Bunyan refers to ministers of the gospel like Mr. Great-heart and the son of Great-grace as "God's messengers and servants" who, prior to the full rebuilding of the City will "pour forth his last and most dreadful plagues upon the whore": the latter is, of course, "the Antichristian harlot", and the preachers are the means "God will use to show us the pattern of this holy city" (III,427). They will combat the false doctrine of Rome as the Reformers did by reliance on the unadulterated word of God--the pure doctrine given to the twelve apostles who alone "were infallible, it was impossible that they should err; he that despised their doctrine, despised God himself" (III,417). Great-heart and his like must be "a people peculiarly fitted for this work of God", (III,404) for, as Gaius says, "Christians Family is like still to spread abroad upon the face of the Ground" (260), and on "the latter day with the church of God...the nations shall come from far, from Tarshish, Pul, Lud, Tubal, Javan and the isles afar off" (III,402). By the time the pilgrims reach the Delectable Mountains the shepherds comment on the "great train" Mr. Great-heart has following him, in truth a "gathered church" after the author's own heart. The "goodly company" are not all stalwart young men like Christiana's sons; it includes Mr. Feeble-mind, Mr. Ready-to-halt, Mr. Despondency and his daughter, Much-afraid. The last two named were rescued from Doubting Castle before it was razed to the ground, and in the wake of its destruction the pilgrims were "very jocond and merry" (283). Ready-to-halt dances a fine measure with Much-afraid to the music of Christiana's vial and Mercy's lute.[29] In this gay scene, long before Beulah is reached, Bunyan depicts "how sweet and pleasant the way of this church will be" (III,408) as they observe "how far they are come out of Antichrist, and...how far yet they have to go."

> The way of God shall, by the illuminating grace of Christ, be made so pleasant, so sweet, and so beautiful in the souls of all at that day, that even the blindest shall not stumble therein, neither shall the lame refuse it for fear of hurt; yea, the blind, the lame, the woman with child, and her that travaileth shall, though they be of all in most evil case to travel, and go the journey, yet, at this day, by reason of the glorious light and sweetness that now will possess them, even forget their impediments, and dance, as after musical tabrets. (III,408)

In the Delectable Mountains the shepherds warmly welcome the feeble as well as the strong: "Infirmity must not be a block to our Entertainment" (289). There are new wonders to share with pilgrims since Christian passed that way, and these new sights have all to do with an even wider preaching of the true gospel and its translation to a faith that results in holy Christian living--the only two criteria for church membership as far as Bunyan is concerned. On Mount Marvel, the son of Great-grace "tumbled the Hills about with

Words" (285), and on Mount Innocent, Godly-man stands alone, "separate and distinct from that confused heap of rubbish and carnal gospellers" as Bunyan puts it in The Holy City (III,429), Godly-man's spotless garments prove his innocency, despite every effort of Ill-will and Prejudice to cover them with filth. The lesson of Christian charity that Good-heart's company has already demonstrated in their care for each other and their fellow townsmen at Vanity Fair is reinforced by watching the man cutting garments for the poor from a roll of cloth that gets no smaller. Bunyan insists that the rebuilding of the holy city will be a "blessing and happiness" to the whole world, (III,403) and "There will not then be that backwardness to do good" (III,438).

It need hardly be said again that for Bunyan spiritual good was infinitely more important than material good, although that, too, had its significance. When the church of Christ returns to "her old and primitive love" (III,439) spiritual gifts will be seen as her jewels. Meantime, the rebuilding of the city may be retarded because of the coldness and sinfulness of the saints themselves who refuse to be guided by ministers like Mr. Great-heart: "For what is the cause of the want of love to Christ and one another now, but our want of light in the things, mysteries, and privileges of the glorious gospel of the Son of God?" (III,439) Christiana's group "continually gave so good heed to the Advice of their Guide, and he did so faithfully tell them of Dangers...that usually when they were nearest to them, they did most pluck up their Spirits, and hearten one another to deny the Flesh" (297). Even so, in the Second Part of The Pilgrim's Progress the state of Beulah is again the church's nearest approach to the heavenly Jerusalem as well as the earthly city. But the throng of pilgrims is much greater than when Christian and Hopeful arrived there, and "all the noise of them that walked the streets, was,'More Pilgrims are come to Town'" (303). Bunyan closes his volume after the crescendo of triumph that marks some of the pilgrims' crossings of the river: Mr. Despondency's daughter, Much Afraid, "went thorow the River singing (308), and Mr. Valiant-for-Truth, after bequeathing his sword, "to him that shall succeed me in my Pilgrimage" passed over bravely and "the Trumpets sounded for him on the other side" (309). He leaves his reader, not with the reminder that there is a way to .hell from the very gate of heaven, but with a bright millennial view of Christiana's sons and their families: "they were yet alive, and so would be for the Increase of the Church in that Place where they were for a time" (311).

Bunyan's renewed interest in writing about a millennium coincides with the period of greater political uncertainty and unrest in the early 1680's that preceded Monmouth's uprising and the subsequent harsher measures taken against nonconformists. Although it has been pointed out that there is not necessarily a connection between intense suffering and millennial hopes, this might almost appear to be true in John Bunyan's case. His first millenarian treatise, The Holy City was written in prison in 1665, and he confesses in the preface that the sermon it is based on was preached during a period of despondency. However, it is also possible that his own peaceable view of the coming millennium was written to counter any more militant one that believers might be toying with, and the Fifth Monarchy activities of the closed communion Baptist that he later argues with about the rite, Danvers, springs to mind. Be that as it may, Bunyan does not deal with the subject again until the 1680's, and although at this juncture it might well have been undertaken to comfort his fellow nonconformists as well as himself, it cannot be ruled out that it might also have been an attempt to dissuade those who, once more, might be leaning towards the militant action Bunyan always deprecates in believers. The Holy War, with its millenarian emphasis was written in 1682, and treatises published around that time, particularly Seasonable Counsel: or Advice to Sufferers, make it plain that the Bedford preacher is well aware that the unstable political situation might lead to rebellion. The fact Bunyan took such pains to draw up and hide his Deed of Gift in 1685 suggests that he himself fully expected to be gaoled again. The dearth of publications in the two years prior to his death indicates that he may have deliberately refrained from publishing some of the manuscripts that eventually saw the light of day in 1692--although the dating of these is by no means certain. However, the preponderance of published millenarian material in 1688 and 1692 bespeaks the extent of his renewed preoccupation with the idea during the decade of the eighties. That it spills over into his fictive works, therefore, should not be seen as surprising. Despite the inclusion of earlier themes and ideas, Part II of The Pilgrim's Progress has always been seen to be notably different from Part I. It is argued here that the change from an apocalyptic mode to a millenarian one best explains the "smiling" nature of Christiana's journey with its strong historical bias, and indicates the author's certainty that, gloomy circumstances notwithstanding, the church is progressing to a period of peaceful worldwide growth. This inviting prospect in the midst of tribulation would certainly encourage beleaguered nonconformists facing an even more severe persecution, but John Bunyan's glowing vision of the New Jerusalem gradually coming into being has proved to be one that melded readily with the nascent idea of material "Progress", something that he would have undoubtedly deplored, but his popular "Pilgrim" must have done its share in promulgating this modern idea.

ENDNOTES

Chapter I The New Jerusalem

[1] Sylvia Thrupp, ed., Millennial Dreams in Action: Studies in Revolutionary Religious Movements (New York: Schocken Books, 1970) 12. Thrupp emphasizes that the picture varies as the time scheme is fitted into the overall cosmic view. This accords with Frank Kermode's claim in The Sense of an Ending that the early Christians were the first to take "disconfirmation of literal predictions in their stride." 9.

[2] John Bunyan, The Holy City (1665) in The Works of John Bunyan, ed. George Offor, 1875 edition, 3 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1977) III, 429. Offor's edition will hereafter be cited in the body of the text under the volume and page number.

[3] Norman Cohn, The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972) 15.

[4] A Narrative of the Apprehending, Commitment, Arraignment, Condemnation And Execution of John James (London:1662) 41.

[5] Narrative 34.

[6] For these definitions I am, in the main, indebted to Professor James Barr who uses them in his book, Fundamentalism (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978) 190, 354.

[7] Richard Baxter, A Second Admonition to Mr. Edward Bagshaw (London, 1671) 55. Baxter makes it plain just how widespread the holding of millenarian opinion was at this time.

[8] Frank Kermode, The Sense of An Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction (London: Oxford University Press, 1975) 8.

[9] James Barr, Fundamentalism (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1978) 206. Lindsey's book had sold 1,700,000 copies to December 1972. Barr draws attention to the fact that the so-called dispensational millenarian scheme is a fairly recent hybrid--unknown before the nineteenth century, but, of course, it still has a good deal in common with much of seventeenth-century millenarianism. Bunyan,

however, great advocate of grace as he was, would have taken issue with the Darby/Scofield view that "the [Sermon on the Mount] is addressed to the Jew before the cross and to the Jew in the coming kingdom, and is therefore not now in effect." 193-194.

[10] Barr, *Fundamentalism* 18-21.

[11] Barr, *Fundamentalism* 200.

[12] Barr, *Fundamentalism* 173. Calvin's ability to make "some critical literary judgments on biblical texts" is alluded to. The Genevan Reformer accepted that some psalms dated from the Maccabaean age, and that II Peter was probably not the work of the apostle Peter.

[13] Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Traditions in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 11.

[14] McGinn 6,10.

[15] McGinn 9.

[16] Cohn 29.

[17] McGinn 18.

[18] Ernest Lee Tuveson, *Millennium and Utopia: A Study in the Background of the Idea of Progress* (1949; New York: Harper and Row, 1964) 11.

[19] Tuveson 19.

[20] Tuveson 19.

[21] Cohn 30. Christianity became the official religion of the Roman Empire after the Edict of Theodosius in 380AD.

[22] Thrupp 27. Those involved in the millenarian studies edited by Sylvia Thrupp "in all aspects of [their] subject [they] were deeply conscious that the most plausible of conclusions are no more than tentative until there is better understanding of the negative cases, the situations and the cultures in which one might expect millennial excitement to appear but where it did not appear."

[23] Katharine R. Firth, *The Apocalup@tic Tradition in Reformation Britain 1530-1645* (Oxford: University Press, 1979) 80-81.

[24] McGinn 26. He quotes from Augustine's *City of God* 18. 52-53.

[25] Robert Nisbet, *History of the Idea of Progress* (New York: Basic Books, 1980) 67. Nisbet says that Augustine's prediction of a seventh future age that will precede the eighth final and eternal age, despite contradictory passages in his works, gives us grounds to believe that "Augustine foresaw a progressive, fulfilling, and blissful period ahead, *on earth* for humanity--prior to entry of the blessed into heaven.

[26] Nisbet 67.

[27] McGinn 30. Millenarian beliefs "were as important for social continuity as they were for social change."

[28] Giles Quispel, *The Secret Book of Revelation* (London: Collins, 1979) 16. Quispel points out that the "Elder John rejected Rome at a time she was experiencing her greatest prosperity and had reached her zenith. His rejection of Rome was based on religious, rather than national or social reasons. He did not invoke violence either." McGinn concurs with this view, saying that Revelation is indeed "intensely anti-Roman" but that John "nowhere recommends active resistance to the hated Roman regime." 32.

[29] Cohn 31-32.

[30] Cohn 31-32.

[31] E. R. Chamberlin, *Antichrist and the Millennium* (New York: Dutton, 1975) 41.

[32] Chamberlin 42.

[33] Chamberlin 31-58. Frederick's premature death led to both his supporters and detractors seeking to "juggle" dates, and it was among the followers of Joachim of Fiore that the legend of the "Sleeping Emperor" took root--except that Frederick in the legend metamorphosed into his grandfather, Frederick Barbarossa. 58.

[34] Chamberlin 32.

[35] Cohn 214-222.

[36] Edward Bagshaw, The Doctrine of the Kingdom and Personal Reign of Christ Asserted and Explained in An Exposition upon Zach. 14.5.9 (1669), preface.

[37] Edward Bagshaw, Saintship No Ground of Sovereignty; or a Treatise Tending to prove That the Saints, barely considered as such ought not to Govern (Oxford, 1660) A3.

[38] Bagshaw 15.

[39] Cohn 9.

[40] McGinn 29.

[41] McGinn 29.

[42] See, for instance, Christopher Hill, The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution (Penguin: 1972) 404-409. Hill claims Bunyan "shared the social and political attitudes of the radicals but not their theology. In 1654 and many times later he denounced kingly oppressors." 405. I strenuously oppose such a view of Bunyan's politics, as will become apparent in later chapters.

[43] Thrupp 12.

[44] Nisbet 112-114.

[45] Tuveson vi.

[46] Tuveson 6.

[47] Nisbet 49.

[48] Nisbet 144.

[49] Nisbet 127.

[50] James Barr, The Bible as a Political Document (The John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1980). Barr points out that "not one but a wide variety of political images [derive] rightly or wrongly, from the Bible," 288, and that the New Testament teaching about rendering to Caesar what is Caesar's and to God what is God's differs from the

Old Testament theocratic image in that "there is at least something, somewhere, that is Caesar's, not everything is God's." 275.

[51] Nisbet 127-128.

[52] Tuveson vi.

Chapter 2 *Spirit of the Age*

[1] John Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, ed. Roger Sharrock (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 28. Hereafter abbreviated GA with page number in parentheses.

[2] J. H. Hexter and Richard Pipes with Anthony Molbo, *Europe Since 1500* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971) 222-243. The authors describe how the Papacy eventually took over the defence of Catholicism from the Princes. The four principal means that were used to accomplish this end were "the Roman Inquisition and the Index, the Jesuit order, the Council of Trent, and the reformed Papal Court or Curia. 222.

[3] See, for instance, Christopher Hill in *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971). Hill names many of the theologians and scholars who examined biblical prophecies of "the last days" in order to determine the exact date of the end. He comments that this activity "was not the monopoly view of any theological party." 25-33.

[4] Hexter and Pipes 245.

[5] Hexter and Pipes 349.

[6] B. S. Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972) 235.

[7] Quoted in *Millenium and Utopia* by Ernest Lee Tuveson (1949; New York: Harper and Row, 1964) 81.

[8] Capp 34.

[9] Quispel 16.

[10] John Milton, *Complete Prose Works*, i, 526.

[11] Milton *Of Reformation.*

[12] Hill, *Antichrist* 100.

[13] C. Syms, *The Swords Apology* (1644) p. 10. Quoted by Capp, p. 37.

[14] John Owen, *The Advantage of the Kingdome of Christ In the shaking of the Kingdoms of the World: Or Providential Alterations in their subservience to Christ's Exaltation* Opened in a Sermon Preached yto the Parliament, Octob. 24.1651 (Leith:1652).

[15] William Lamont, *Richard Baxter and the Millennium: Protestant Imperialism and the English Revolution* (London: Croem Helm, 1979) 13.

[16] Paul Christianson, *Reformers and Babylon: English apocalyptic visions from the reformation to the eve of the civil war* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978) 39-41. Christianson draws attention to the fact that John Foxe followed John Bale in first dating the thousand year biunding of Satan from the time of Christ, and only later did he date it from the reign of Constantine. 40.

[17] Quoted in Tuveson 48.

[18] Hill, *Antichrist* 50.

[19] Hill, *Antichrist* 77.

[20] Jeanne Bignami-Odier, "Prophecies Concerning the Later Stuarts", *Essays in Honour of Marjorie Reeves* (London: Longmans, 1980) 269.

[21] Tuveson 53.

[22] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* ed. James Blanton Wharey, revised by Roger Sharrock, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960) 65. All subsequent references abbreviated "PP" and page number given in parentheses.

[23] McGinn 12-13. Of the book of Revelation he says it "is at once a summary of preceding literature, an

appropriation of the genre at a new level, and the point of departure for much subsequent commentary and expansion." 13.

[24] William Haller, Liberty and Reformation in the Puritan Revolution (New York: Columbia Press, 1955) 4.

[25] Haller, Liberty 11-16.

[26] Quoted in Hill, World 78.

[27] Footnoted in Hill, World 78.

[28] Peter Toon, ed., The Correspondence of John Owen (1616-1683) (Cambridge: University Press, 1970) 20

[29] Toon 21.

[30] Quoted in Toon 22.

[31] Haller Liberty 139.

[32] Lucy Hutchinson, Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson (London: Oxford University Press, 1973) 21. The issue of literacy among the poor is a complex one. Paul Seaver in Wallington's World observes that his subject "was literate at a time [in the second decade of the seventeenth century] when literacy was not yet commonplace even among Londoners, artisans, and Puritans." 1. Lawrence Stone in The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800 says that by 1640 "In the towns, however, not only artisans but many of the poor were literate." John Bunyan 's own experience as a poor man's son would bear this out, since he learned to read and write as a child. Richard Baxter, in his posthumously published treatise, The Poor Husbandman's Advocate 1691 castigates those who oppress poor husbandmen because they "cannot have their children taught to read." 15.

[33] John Brown, John Bunyan: His Life, Times, and Work, ed. Frank Mott Harrison, (London: Hulbert, 1928) 55.

[34] Quoted by Brown, 54.

[35] Arthur Dent, The Ruine of Rome (London, 1603) 268.

[36] Dent, Ruine 274.

[37] Capp 28-29.

[38] George Williamson, Seventeenth Century Contexts (London: Faber and Faber, 1960) 24.

[39] Tuveson 67.

[40] Tuveson 77.

[41] Tuveson 84.

[42] Tuveson 76.

[43] P. G. Rogers, The Fifth Monarchy Men (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) 138.

[44] P. G. Rogers gives this quotation, and he points out that Newton took these prophecies of Daniel and Revelation so seriously as to believe that to reject the former was tantamount to rejecting the Christian religion. 139.

[45] Richard Baxter, A Second Admonition...to Mr. Edward Bagshaw (London, 1671) 55.

[46] Baxter Admonition 2.

[47] Lamont Baxter 1-75.

[48] Lamont Baxter 29.

[49] Hill, World 16.

[50] William M. Lamont, Godly Rule: Politics and Religion 1603-1660 (London: Macmillan, 1979) 13.

[51] Hill, Antichrist 114.

[52] Haller, Liberty 182. This gives a good discussion of the effect of Milton's "Areopagitica".

[53] Haller, Liberty 183.

[54] Haller, Liberty 112.

[55] Haller, Liberty 183.

[56] Haller, Liberty 196.

[57] Thomas Edwards, *The First and Second Part of Gangraena: or A Catalogue and Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies and pernicious Practices, Passages, Letters, an Extract of many Letters, all concerning the present Sects, together with some Observations upon, and Corollaries from all the fore-names Premisses* (London: 1646). Edward lists 175 "errors" of the Sectaries, ranging from doctrinal errors (including millenarianism) to social "gaffes" on the part of sectaries--for example, ministers should not work with their hands. He is especially enraged by the sect of Seekers (in which Milton is sometimes placed) calling them "libertines" and prophesying that Independents, Brownists, Antinomians, and Anabaptists will all be swallowed up by them.

[58] Hill, *Antichrist*, 113-115.

[59] John Archer, *The Personall Reign of Christ upon Earth* (London: 1642) 32-52.

[60] Quoted in Rogers 28-38.

[61] Rogers 37

Chapter 3 *Paradise Regained*

[1] Capp 245.

[2] *The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting 1650-1821*, ed. G. B. Harrison (London: Dent, 1928) f. 18.

[3] *Church Book*

[4] Richard Greaves, "John Bunyan and the Fifth Monarchists," *Albion* 13 (1981) :84.

[5] *Church Book* 25 March 1657.

[6] Brown 80.

[7] Roger Sharrock, *John Bunyan* (London: Hutchinson, 1954), 31.

[8] Vera Brittain, *In the Steps of John Bunyan: An Excursion into Puritan England* (London: Rich and Cowan, 1950) 240. Brittain surmises that Bunyan printed his name and date (1662) at the foot of each title page of this three volume folio to make sure that it was not stolen while he was in prison.

[9] William York Tindall, *John Bunyan: Mechanick Preacher* (1934; New York: Russell and Russell, 1964) 34. Although Professor Tindall sees the seventeenth-century mechanick preachers' spiritual autobiographies as "the advertisement of the authors' experience and gifts" and the result of "a desire to promote for the information of disciples and proselytes the heavenly endowment of the prophet" so that they could urge others to convert, 25, he does concede that Bunyan's conventional *Grace Abounding* is "excellent of its kind". 31. Even so, he suggests Bunyan's artistry led him to represent "the ordinary circumstances of his conversion with dramatic intelligence and perhaps with improvements." 33 He goes on to question Bunyan's veracity further: "But if, as we might surmise, the splendor of this conversion is an improvement upon nature by the genius or fancy of Bunyan, we might reasonably attribute to him the motives of the ambitious apostle, whose blameless exaggeration an indulgent Deity must have sanctioned or at least condoned. 34. Such a view of Bunyan casts serious doubt on the Bedford preacher's integrity, and if Tindall is right, there is nothing that Bunyan says that can be taken as his honest effort to give a true account. I consider Tindall's remarks to have misrepresented his subject.

[10] Agnes Beaumont, *The Narrative of the Persecution of Agnes Beaumont in 1674*, ed. F. M. Harrison (London:1929).

[11] Brown 50-51.

[12] Edwards 24. Erbery is taken to task by Edwards for being a universal Redemptionist and Antinomian. He is also said to be against re-baptising: "men ought to wait for the coming of the Spirit."

[13] William Erbery in a letter to Vavasor Powell, printed in *The Testimony of William Erbery left upon Record for the Saints of Succeeding Ages...."* (London: 1658) 245-248. Erbery also comes out in favour of religious toleration: "Why may not honest Papists have the like (as in France) liberty of conscience, in due time, amongst Protestants in England when our Governours see Good."

[14] Dean Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth-Century England: Theology and the Self* (The Hague: Mouton, 1971) 18.

[15] Robert Bell, "Metamorphoses of Spiritual Autobiography," *ELH* 44 (1977) 108-126.

[16] Sharrock, *Bunyan*/ 17.

[17] Henry Jesssey, *The Everlasting Riches of Grace Advanced by the Spirit of Grace, in an Empty Nothing Creature, viz Mris Sarah Wight* (London: 1647) 112. Paul S. Seaver's subject in *Wallington's World* records similar experiences in much the same kind of language in his journals kept from 1618 onwards.

[18] Jessey, frontispiece, *Exceeding Riches.*

[19] Jessey, preface, *Exceeding Riches.*

[20] *A Continuation of Mr. Bunyan's Life* Appendix B in *Grace Abounding* ed. Roger Sharrock, 173-174.

[21] See, for instance, the account of John Rogers' proposals to inaugurate the rule of the saints in Rogers 23-27.

[22] It is sad to see this myth perpetuated in T. L. Underwood's introduction to " A Few Sighs from Hell" in volume IV of the definitive Oxford edition of Bunyan's miscellaneous works. The comparison with Richard Baxter is particularly unfortunate, for Baxter's comments did not always lack "the class antipathy, the severe hostility toward wealth, and the intensity of denunciation which marked those of Bunyan" iv. William Lamont, in *Richard Baxter and the Millenarians*, has drawn attention to Baxter's posthumous treatise, "The Poor Husbandman's Advocate" and Baxter's searing indictment of late seventeenth-century's indifference to the plight of the poor.

[23] Humphrey Mosely, *An Healing Leaf, Most Humbly Tendred to the Nobility and Gentry of England As an Essay to cure the Bleeding Wounds of themselves and the Nation.* (London: 1658) 15.

[24] Mosely 15.

[25] Barr, *Fundamentalism* 262.

[26] Barr, *Fundamentalism* 174.

[27] William Dell, *The Way of True Peace and Unity in the True Church of Christ in all Humility and Bowels of Love* 1651.

[28] John Denne *Truth Outweighing Error, Or An Answer to A Treatise lately published by JB Entitled A Confession of his Faith, and A Reason of his Practice* (London, 1673) 120-124.

[29] Joseph Sedgewick, *A Sermon Preached at St Marie's in the University of Cambridge, May 1st 1653 or An Essay to the Discovery of the Spirit of Enthusiasme and pretended Inspiration that disturbs and strikes at the Universities* (London, 1653) 38-39. Sedgewick makes the sarcastic comment that "Mr. Dell's preaching would not survive tithes and the University" and he goes on to ask the scathing question: "With what Conscience can any Christian knowingly take the ages of Antichrist?" One cannot help but feel it was a good point!

[30] William Dell, *The Doctrine of Baptism, Reduced from its Ancient and Modern Corruptions and Restored to its Primitive Soundness and Integrity according to the word of truth, the substance of faith, and the Nature of Christ's kingdom* (London, 1652) 42.

[31] Quoted in Brown 387.

[32] Henry Danvers, *Theopolis, or the City of God New Jerusalem in Opposition to the City of the Nations Great Babylon; Comprehending The blessing and benefit of Christ's Kingdom, in the thousand years Reign before his personal coming and appearing, after the total ruine of the Beast, and his Kingdom* (London, 1672) 221.

[33] Danvers 247.

Chapter 4 *"Altar-work and temple-work"*

[1] D. Glyn Evans, *A Short History of Bunyan Meeting* (Bedford, n.d.) The present minister writes: "For 300 years this church has maintained a witness for ecumenicity by having one membership roll for those believing in Believers'

Baptism by immersion and those who accept infant Baptism...There is no denominational identification on the church roll." When I visited the Bunyan Museum and the Meeting in 1984, the curator, Mr. Alan Cirket, told me that he estimated about 60% of the congregation were Congregationalists and 40% Baptists.

[2] William Ross Collins, *Calvin and the Libertines of Geneva*, ed. F. D. Blackley (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1968) 168[illegible]81.

[3] John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* Book III (London: Clarke, 1962) 265.

[4] John M. Headley, *Luther's View of Church History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 255.

[5] Edward Fowler, letter to Richard Baxter, 29 September 1671, Baxter Letters Vol. IV, Dr. Williams's Library London.

[6] Fowler to Baxter 29.9.1671.

[7] Fowler to Baxter 29.9.1671.

[8] Richard Baxter, letter to Edward Fowler, 7 October 1671, Baxter Letters, Vol. IV, Dr. Williams's Library, London.

[9] Baxter to Fowler 7.10.1671.

[10] Brown 218.

[11] Brown 218.

[12] Richard Greaves, preface, "Instruction for the Ignorant," Vol. VIII, *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979) 43.

[13] John Bunyan, preface, "Instruction for the Ignorant." Vol. VIII, *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979).

[14] See James F. Forrest, "Milton and the Divine Art of Weaponry: and Bunyan's 'Nameless Terrible Instrument'" at Mouthgate", *Milton Studies*, XVI (1982): 131-140.

[15] Richard Greaves, Note on the text, "Come and Welcome to Jesus Christ," Vol. VIII, The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1979) 237.

[16] Church Book.

[17] Brown 367-368.

[18] Brown 335-336.

[19] Calvin Vol I, 343.

Chapter 5 "At the Rising of the Year"

[1] Brown 430.

[2] Tindall 134. Tindall does concede, however, that Bunyan's chiliasm is modest: "his sorrow over the violence of some millenarians had always equaled his delight in the gradual propagation of the word."

[3] Brown 337.

[4] Brown 415.

[5] Brown 415.

[6] Tindall 134. According to Tindall, Bunyan died shortly after the composition of Antichrist and His Ruin: and the Slaying of the Witnesses.

[7] Tindall 136-137.

[8] Henry More, epistle to the reader, An Exposition of the Seven Epistles to the Seven Churches, Together with A Brief Discourse of Idolatry with Application to the Church of Rome.

[9] Tindall 141. Tindall feels that what Bunyan says about Nimrod "permits no uncertainty about Bunyan's opinion of the Stuarts."

[10] Tindall 134.

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[11] Hillel Schwartz, *The French Prophets: The History of a Millenarian Group in Eighteenth-Century England* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980) 13-14.

[12] Schwartz 14.

[13] William Dell, *The Increase of Popery in England* (London:1681) 14. This treatise had been intended to be published in 1667 but had been seized at the press.

[14] *The French Intrigues Discovered With the Methods and Arts to Retrench the Potency of France* (1681) 17.

[15] E.E. (Edmund Everard), *The Great Pressures and Grievannces of the Protestants in France and their Apology to the Late Ordinances made against them* (London:1681) 82. In the Dedicatory Epistle the author refers to "the former state of Tranquility and quietness they enjoyed on both sides for many years."

[16] William Gouge, *The Saints Sacrifice or a Commentarie on the CXVI Psalme* (London: 1632) 278.

[17] Schwartz 14.

[18] Schwartz 55.

[19] Dell, *Increase of Popery* 1.

[20] John Rogers, *Ohel or Beth-Shemesh: A Tabernacle for the Sun* (London, 1653) 14.

[21] John Canne, *The Time of the End Showing First until the three years and an half are come (which are the last of the 1260 days) the prophecies of the Scripture will not be understood* (London, 1656) 270.

[22] Henry More, *A Plain and Continued Exposition of the Several Prophecies or Divine Visions of the Prophet Daniel* (London, 1681) 57. More here is combatting the views of the "fanatical" Fifth Monarchists.

Chapter 6 Christ and Antichrist: The Holy War

[1] James F. Forrest, bibliographical note, The Holy War by John Bunyan (Canada: Copp Clark, 1967) xix.

[2] Christine Sizemore, "The Literary Artistry of John Bunyan's 'The Holy War,'" diss., The University of Pennsylvania, 1972, 2.

[3] Quoted by Henri Taslon in John Bunyan: the Man and his Works, (London: Rockliff, 1951) 240.

[4] Sizemore 4.

[5] Sizemore 31.

[6] Roger Sharrock and James F. Forrest, eds., preface, The Holy War by John Bunyan (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1980) xxxiv.

[7] Sizemore 4.

[8] Talon 240.

[9] Tindall 15.

[10] Sizemore 21.

[11] Talon 252.

[12] Forrest ed., introduction, The Holy War xv.

[13] Sizemore 14 and 29.

[14] Ronald H. Preston and Anthony T. Hanson, The Revelation of Saint John the Divine: Introduction and Commentary (London: SCM Press, 1957) 21-22. The authors draw attention to the many possible divisions of the book. They themselves feel it is most readily divisible into nine parts.

[15] Sharrock, Bunyan 120.

[16] Sharrock, Bunyan 120.

[17] Talon 240.

[18] C. S., Lewis, The Allegory of Love: A study in Medieval Tradition (Oxford: The University Press, 1979) 69.

[19] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* x.

[20] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* x.

[21] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* viii.

[22] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* viii.

[23] Rosemund Tuve, *A Reading of George Herbert* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952) 27.

[24] I follow the practice of the editors of the recent Clarendon Press edition of *The Holy War*, Roger Sharrock and J. F. Forrest in using Bunyan's own spelling "Emanuel" for "Emmanuel".

[25] Sizemore 40.

[26] Tindall 144.

[27] Talon 22.

[28] Tindall 144.

[29] Tindall 147.

[30] Talon 243.

[31] Sharrock and Forrest, eds. *The Holy War.*

[32] Clement H. Wyke, "Distanced Experience and Faded Vision in *The Holy War* *Humanities Association Review* 26 no. 1 (Winter):21-32.

[33] Tindall 156-157. Tindall feels the two appearances of Emanuel are millenarian in character but "Orthodoxy demands one Fifth Monarchy not two; the claims of art are better satisfied with one. 155 He suggests three possible interpretations. The third, based on "the political sequences of Bunyan's own time" may be readily dismissed. Bunyan, as we have seen, is not oblivious to contemporary politics, but his historical perspective is too broad and his loyalty to established authority too great to undermine the Stuart regime in this way. The first explanation, based on Revelation, sees the Fifth Monarchy established by Emanuel interrupted by the assault of Gog and Magog. This is clearly at odds with Bunyan's view of the Fifth Monarchy in

The Holy City. Tindall's second explanation is very near the mark. He postulates Emanuel's first coming as the founding of the primitive church and the long period of Antichrist's rule ending with the slaying of the Witnesses. But Tindall's own objection to his theory is "the first kingdom of Emanuel is almost too millenarian in character to represent the primitive church." 156 Given the widespread Protestant idea of a primitive church that was, indeed, ideal, and the Protestant sense of nostalgia that accompanied reflections on those days, it is a feasible explanation, and I think furnishes the true explanation of Emanuel's two appearances in *The Holy War*. And, as Professor Tindall says, it is agreeable to the theme of church history.

[34] Quoted by Sizemore, 56.

[35] Sizemore 34.

[36] Calvin IV,14,4.

[37] Sizemore 60.

[38] Sharrock and Forrest eds., introduction, *The Holy War* xxx.

[39] See Tindall's chapter "Traders in Manna" 68-90.

[40] G. R. Owst, *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge University Press, 1933) 109. Owst feels that all attempts to link Bunyan's major fictive prose with sources such as Bernard's *Isle of Man* and Deguileville's *Pilgrimage* are a waste of time. He claims that Bunyan, "in spite of his Protestantism he is at all events a typical child of the pre-Reformation piety, steeped in its atmosphere of homely imagery and practical mysticism. No one mirrors more clearly than he the mind and method of our English sermon-allegorists of the later Middle Ages, and the influence of their message upon subsequent generations of Englishmen."

[41] Quoted in Sizemore, 40.

[42] Charles Baird, *John Bunyan: A Study in Narrative Technique* (London: Kennikat, 1977) 14.

[43] John Bunyan, The Author's Apology for his Book, in *The Pilgrim's Progress.*

[44] Tindall 144.

[45] Tindall 151.

[46] Tindall 151.

[47] Tindall 138-139. A reading of Bunyan's works does not leave one with the impression that he "cherished a deep and natural hatred of king and government, like any normal Baptist of the time"--quite the reverse, in fact.

[48] Tindall 145.

[49] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* x.

[50] Tindall 148.

[51] C. S. Lewis, *A Preface to "Paradise Lost"* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974) 1.

[52] Tindall 146.

[53] Wilbur Smith ed., introduction, *The Holy War* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1948) 47-48. Smith comments "to put into allegory such profound mysteries as the assaults of Satan on the human race and God's dealings with this strange monster of iniquity will never be successfully accomplished."

[54] Forrest, ed., introduction, *The Holy War* xii.

[55] Sharrock, *Bunyan* 129.

[56] Brown 316-319.

[57] In speaking of the doctrine of the apostles in *The Holy City* (1665), Bunyan says: "Indeed, the primitive city, or first church was built upon these foundations, and had also, so long as they there continued, sufficient supportation and upholding by that means." (III,418) The "day of Antichrist's fall" will see this apostolic doctrine restored to its former purity. (III, 419)

[58] In *The Holy City* Bunyan visualizes the holy city or "gospel church" in three distinct historical stages that were commonly accepted in the seventeenth century. 1. Her "first and purest state". 2. Her "Declined and captivated" state. 3. Her "recovery from the apostatized and captivated condition." He compares these three states to three states of ancient Israel: Jerusalem under Solomon, the Babylonian captivity, and return from captivity to start

building the city walls again. III,401.

[59] Bunyan in *The Holy City* draws attention to "the first work" as the Church comes out of Antichristian Babylon. Continual supplications and prayers from the church are what is needed for complete restoration, and "Wickliff, Huss, Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin and the blessed martyrs in Queen Mary's day" offered up "many strong cries, with groans and tears." (III,429)

[60] Tindall 155.

[61] Tindall 156.

[62] See above--Slaying of the Witnesses.

[63] Tindall 156.

Chapter 7 The King's Highway: Millenarianism in *The Pilgrim's Progress*

[1] Roger Sharrock, "Life and Story in 'The Pilgrim's Progess'", *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views,* ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980) 49-68. Professor Sharrock reminds us that it is not only the Bible and *The Pilgrim's Progress* that have lost ground in the twentieth century: the taste for classical literature generally has declined.

[2] J. F. Forrest and Richard Lee Greaves, introduction, *John Bunyan: A Reference Guide* (Boston, G. K. Hall, 1982). Attention is drawn to the upsurge of critical interest in Bunyan during the 1960's and 1970's--an interest that has continued into the 1980's.

[3] John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress,* ed. James Blanton Wharey, rev. by Roger Sharrock (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1960). All subsequent references in parentheses are from this edition.

[4] See, for instance, David Mills, "The Dreams of Bunyan and Langland", *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views,* ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980) 154-181.

[5] Roger Sharrock, introduction, The Pilgrim's Progress (Penguin, 1976). Professor Sharrock argues that what gives The Pilgrim's Progress its "continuing vitality" is the universal appeal of the archetypal journey.

[6] David Seed, "Dialogue and Debate in The Pilgrim's Progress," The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980) 69-90. P.J.H. Titlestad "Bunyan and the Puritan Contribution to the Growth of the English Novel" Communique (Pietersburg) 5, no. 2: 24-35. Cited in 1980 MLA International Bibliography of Books and Articlesa on the Modern Languages and Literaure (New York, 1981), 1: 108.

[7] Brian Hammond, "The Pilgrim's Progress: Satire and Social Comment," The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views, ed. Vincent Newey (Liverpool: Liverpool Unversity Press, 1980) 118-131.

[8] Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800 (New York: Harper and Row, 1977) 233, 241, 410. E.W.F. Tomlin "John Bunyan's Progress", Illustrated London News 266 (July): 60-61. Tomlin suggests that Bunyan's female characters are just as interesting as his male ones.

[9] Richard L. Greaves, John Bunyan Courtenay Studies in Reformation Theology, 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdman's Publishing Co., 1969). Bunyan's indebtedness to Luther as well as Calvin is explored, and some consideration is given to the ideas Bunyan garnered from Antinomianism and the Separatist tradition.

[10] Greaves, Bunyan 25.

[11] T. R. Glover, "On the Permanence of The Pilgrim's Progress The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook ed. Roger Sharrock, (London: Macmillan, 1976) 126.

[12] Sharrock, The Pilgrim's Progress 12.

[13] N. H. Keeble, "Christiana's Key: The Unity of The Pilgrim's Progress, The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views ed. Vincent Newey, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1980) 1-20. This gives an excellent summary of different critical views put forward since Coleridge specified that is was the first part of The

Pilgrim's Progress he found "Admirable." 1-3 Keeble's article emphasizes the unity he finds between Parts I and II.

[14] Sharrock, *Bunyan* 77.

[15] C. S. Lewis, "The Vision of John Bunyan," *The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook,* ed. Roger Sharrock (Macmillan: London, 1976) 195-202. Lewis insists that "The urgency, the harsh woodcut energy, the continual sense of momentousness, depend upon it." 201-202.

[16] F. R. Leavis, "Bunyan's Resoluteness," *The Pilgrim's Progress: A Casebook* ed. Roger Sharrock (Macmillan: London, 1976) 202-220. Leavis reminds readers that children of a past generation often found the book "stirring, a presence in our imaginative life. 204

[17] Leavis 205.

[18] Sharrock 138.

[19] Keeble 1-3.

[20] James F. Forrest, "Vision, Form and the Imagination in the Second Part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* 1984 *Journal of Narrative Technique* Spring, 1983 109-117.

[21] Elizabeth Ola Winslow, *John Bunyan* (New York: Macmillan, 1961) 184.

[22] Sharrock, *Bunyan* 144.

[23] Sharrock, *Bunyan* 140.

[24] Forrest, *Vision* 111.

[25] *The Church Book of Bunyan Meeting, 1650-1821,* ed. G. B. Harrison (London: J. M. Dent, 1928).

[26] G. E. Aylmer, *The Struggle for the Constitution: England in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Blandford Press, 1963) 188-200.

[27] Brown 322.

[28] Aylmer 165.

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